

The SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

VOLUME XIV

SEPTEMBER 1940

NUMBER 3

WHITHER UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION?¹

EDWIN E. WITTE

UNEMPLOYMENT compensation has now been in operation for some time in every part of the United States. The majority of the states have had more than two years of benefit experience, none less than nine months' experience. It is timely to ask: What has been accomplished? What remains to be done? Whither unemployment compensation?

In retrospect, the outstanding fact about unemployment compensation is that most of the predictions made prior to the enactment of this legislation have proved false. While the Social Security Act was under consideration, and after its passage, the "experts" who claimed to know most about the subject predicted that the tax-offset device would fail and that only a few states, at the most, would enact unemployment compensation laws. The American Liberty League promptly proclaimed both the tax-offset provision and the state laws to be unconstitutional. On every hand there were predictions that once benefit payments began the state funds would soon be bankrupted. The administrative problems were said to be impossible of solution. A complete breakdown of unemployment compensation was predicted by its enemies and feared by its friends.

What happened? In less than two years after passage of the So-

¹ Address at the Regional Institute on Employment Service and Unemployment Compensation Procedures, at the University of Minnesota, April, 1940, somewhat condensed.

cial Security Act, every state had enacted an unemployment compensation law. The Supreme Court found both the provisions of the Social Security Act relating to unemployment compensation and the state laws to be constitutional. Instead of exhausted state funds, the problem has become one of excessive reserves.

The administrative problems, while not completely licked, have been met reasonably well as they have arisen. Benefit payments were started in most states at the worst possible time—during the very severe depression of the winter of 1937-38—with untrained staffs, and with very inadequate preparation. In a considerable number of states, there was something akin to a complete breakdown in administration for some months and, naturally, much complaint from claimants whose payments were delayed. But everywhere the administration of unemployment compensation improved rapidly. Before the end of the first year—and much earlier in most states—benefits were being paid on time in nearly all uncontested cases, and contested cases were being disposed of expeditiously. Once caught up, no state has ever again fallen behind. In the matter of costs of administration, the record in many American states has been truly remarkable. In England it was ten years after the enactment of the 1920 act before administrative costs ever were as low as 10 per cent of the collections. In many states this low figure has already been attained, and the minimum is now around 7 per cent.

Very certainly, however, all problems have not been solved, and unemployment compensation is not all that it ought to be. It is almost a certainty that important changes will have to be made in unemployment compensation before long.

Foremost among the major issues now to the fore is the question of what should be done about the large and increasing reserves, the proposal for the insertion of benefit standards in the Social Security Act, and the problem of experience rating. These issues are interrelated but justify separate treatment.

Basic in the present situation are the large reserves in the state unemployment compensation funds. Up to the close of 1939, all states combined had collected nearly \$2,400,000,000 for unemployment compensation purposes and paid out but \$825,000,000 in benefits. The reserves totaled \$1,550,000,000 and constituted 63 per

cent of the entire collections. In no state was there the slightest danger of the early exhaustion of the reserves. In only one state—Idaho—did the benefit payments in 1939 exceed the tax collections of the last calendar year. In only five states did the benefit payments total as much as 80 per cent of the current collections. Taxes collected in 1939 in all states amounted to \$800,000,000; benefits paid to \$430,000,000—but 54 per cent of the current collections.

For a correct understanding of this situation, it is important to remember that approximately half of the present reserves are accumulations of the period before benefits became payable. Another important factor is that it takes considerable time before all who are entitled to benefits actually claim them and know enough about the procedure to take promptly the necessary steps to get all that is coming to them. This was the experience under workmen's compensation and has been repeated under unemployment compensation. Probably even more important is the fact that, with the exception of the first three months of this year, the general trend of employment has been upward. The total volume of the unemployment compensation benefits at any given time or during any given period does not depend upon the total number of people who are unemployed but upon the number of workers recently discharged or laid off. People who have been long unemployed have no benefits coming under unemployment compensation laws. Millions may be unemployed while unemployment compensation benefits run very low. It is at times when unemployment is increasing that benefits will run high. Since benefit payments began there has been only one quarter in which this has been the situation. A prolonged period of declining employment will give us the first real test of the extent to which present reserves are too large, and there has been no such test to date.

But while there are these factors which explain why the reserves are now very large it is my conviction that the present tax rates are higher than they need to be under the present benefit scales. Expressed the other way, present benefits can be materially increased without necessitating an increase in tax rates.

I hold this view, not only because of the experience to date, but because I believe that the costs of unemployment compensation

were greatly overestimated by the statisticians and actuaries who advised the Committee on Economic Security and the Social Security Board; and the benefit schedules included in most of the state laws are those which were recommended by the Social Security Board in its model draft bills.

These overestimates resulted, in part, from the supercaution of the actuaries. After computing what unemployment compensation would have cost, on the basis of the available data regarding unemployment during the last complete business cycle, 1922-33, the actuaries added a $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent loading for unexpected contingencies. I do not say this by way of criticism of the actuaries. Everybody interested in unemployment insurance was at that time greatly concerned lest the collections should be insufficient for payment of the promised benefits, with resulting discredit to the entire movement. But it remains a fact that if the actuaries had not arbitrarily added a $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent loading, to be absolutely sure that promised benefits could be paid, the general scale of benefits could have been increased correspondingly, on the basis of the American unemployment experience from 1922 to 1933.

It is very clear now, also, that the basic data used by the actuaries in their estimates—which were the only data available to them—overstated the volume of compensable unemployment. These data were derived from the Unemployment Census of 1930, corrected for its admitted failure to record all the unemployed, and numerous local counts of all the unemployed taken at some time between 1922 and 1933. All such censuses of all the unemployed are overweighted with the people who have been long unemployed and who have no rights to unemployment compensation. There has been much misunderstanding as to the unemployment which is compensable under unemployment compensation laws. Not all unemployment, but only recent unemployment, is compensable. At times, other than those in which employment is decreasing sharply, it is probable that more than half of all compensable unemployment is represented by layoffs, in which the worker returns to the job that he left, after a period of but a few weeks or months. In times of sharply declining employment, discharges probably account for most of the compen-

sation claims, but even at such times there is no direct relation between the total volume of unemployment and compensable unemployment. But before we had unemployment compensation laws, the costs of unemployment compensation had to be estimated on the total volume of unemployment, which meant that, even apart from the $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent loading, costs inevitably were overestimated.

There is still another reason why estimates of unemployment compensation costs based on the unemployment of the last complete business cycle are now too high. This is the decrease in the labor turnover. Total unemployment has greatly increased, but turnover has greatly decreased. Voluntary quitting of jobs has become a rarity and, in this day and age of restrictions upon discharges and seniority rules, discharges are far less common than formerly. It needs ever to be borne in mind that unemployment compensation compensates only comparatively recent unemployment. It is the layoff and turnover rates which determine the total volume of the unemployment compensation payments, not the total amount of unemployment. While total unemployment is greater than in the twenties, compensable unemployment is much less than was estimated on the basis of the twenties.

All these factors lead to the conclusion that existing contribution rates and benefit scales are out of line. They should clearly be brought into closer correspondence. There is need for a revision of the unemployment compensation laws. The question remaining to be answered is whether benefits should be increased or taxes reduced.

There are some things to be said in favor of tax reduction. Reduction in unemployment insurance contribution rates would probably result in somewhat increased profits. Very certainly, a reduction in tax rates would yield immediate unexpected profits to many entrepreneurs who calculated their costs on long-time, uncompleted contracts on the basis of the existing tax rates. Such unexpected and increased profits might have a stimulating effect upon investment, and we need more investment.

How much of a beneficial effect tax reduction would have, however, is uncertain. The desirability of an investment depends less

upon the immediate rate of profits than upon the long-time prospect for profits and, above all, on the security of the investment. It is my belief that it is far less the low return on investments than the danger of losing them altogether which retards investment. In the long run, security of investments depends upon social stability. It may well be doubted whether keeping down unemployment compensation benefits tends toward social stability; almost certainly, such a policy has the opposite effect. The long-time interests of the investor and of business generally may be better served by making unemployment compensation a more satisfying institution than by the unexpected, immediate profits resulting from tax reduction.

To me, the case seems overwhelming for an increase in unemployment compensation benefits. The present benefit provisions are extremely illiberal, judged by any standard whatsoever. They are illiberal as compared with the English benefits. They are illiberal as compared with workmen's compensation benefits. They are below W.P.A. wage rates. They are barely sufficient to keep most workers who are normally regularly employed off relief for the few weeks during which they are payable. It has often been said that unemployment compensation can never become anything more than a first line of defense against the ravages of unemployment. As now functioning in the United States, it is a very weak first line of defense—one that needs strengthening at many points.

To me a comparison of the benefits payable under the unemployment compensation with those recoverable for temporary disability under workmen's compensation is most illuminating. The workmen's compensation laws were passed by the states, without any pressure from Washington whatsoever. Each state has acted as it has seen fit in fixing the cash benefits recoverable when workmen are injured. The benefits payable for temporary disability under workmen's compensation laws represent what the legislators of each state have deemed necessary to enable injured workmen and their families to live while they are unable to work—and they are not intended to cover anything else.

I recognize that there are important differences between unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation—between a man who is unemployed because he has been discharged or laid off

and a man who has been hurt in an industrial accident. The latter has additional costs for medical and surgical treatment; and under all workmen's compensation acts, injured men get their doctor and hospital bills in addition to the cash compensation, which alone may fairly be compared with unemployment compensation. If they suffer any permanent disability by reason of their accident, they receive additional compensation for permanent injury. But the cash compensation for temporary disability is given for exactly the same reason as is unemployment compensation in cases of involuntary unemployment due to discharges or layoffs. Clearly, a man needs just as much to support himself and his family when he is involuntarily unemployed although able to work as he does when temporarily unable to work because of an industrial accident (always bearing in mind that under workmen's compensation the injured worker gets all necessary medical, surgical, and hospital treatment in addition to his cash compensation). And I remind you that the states determined for themselves what compensation is necessary in periods of temporary disability.

I cannot give you a comparison between the cash compensation payable to injured workmen, while temporarily deprived of their usual wages, and the compensation recoverable under our existing unemployment compensation laws. I suggest that you make such a comparison for your own state. I did so for Wisconsin and found that for most imaginable periods of unemployment, the cash benefits under workmen's compensation were more than twice the unemployment compensation benefits.

A comparison of typical benefit provisions in workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation laws must first consider the waiting periods. In unemployment compensation, they are either two or three weeks; in workmen's compensation, seldom over seven days, and with three days not uncommon. No unemployment compensation law has a compensation rate of above 50 per cent of the full-time wages, while only a very few workmen's compensation laws have so low a rate of compensation; most of them have either 60, 65, $66\frac{2}{3}$, or 70 per cent. In many states, also, both the maximum and minimum compensation rates are higher under workmen's compensation than under unemployment compensation. In a consider-

able number of states, partial unemployment is not compensated at all.²

But it is especially in the limitations upon the duration of benefits that unemployment compensation is illiberal. All American laws have two sorts of limitations upon the duration of benefits: absolute limitations and ratio provisions. The absolute limitations prevent anyone from drawing unemployment compensation for more than thirteen, fifteen, or sixteen weeks in any year. The ratio provisions restrict the duration of benefits to one week of compensation for every three, four, or five weeks of employment during the preceding year, or limit the total compensation benefits which may be received in any year to one-half of the earnings in the highest quarter of the preceding year.

To date we have but little information on the way these limitations on the duration of benefits actually work out. Enough data are available, however, to leave no room for doubt that they are the most restrictive of all the illiberal provisions in the existing unemployment compensation laws.³ A large percentage of those who draw benefits do so only for very short periods, not because they return to their old jobs or get other work—as, of course, many beneficiaries do—but because the ratio provisions cut them off from compensation while they are still unemployed. The absolute limitations are deceptive in that most claimants who do not return to work before exhausting their benefit rights are cut off from benefits long before the thirteen, fifteen, or sixteen weeks which are, theoretically, the maximum periods for which benefits can be drawn in any year. In Michigan, under one of the most liberal of unemployment compensation laws, the average duration of benefits for employees who exhausted their benefit rights before getting back to work was not the theoretical maximum of sixteen weeks but only eleven weeks. In other states the average duration of benefits for employees who ex-

² An excellent brief presentation of the limitations of the existing unemployment compensation laws is the article by Dr. Arthur J. Altmeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board, "Liberalizing Unemployment Compensation," in the *Social Security Bulletin*, III, No. 1 (January, 1940), 3-5.

³ Some of these data are presented in the article by Daniel Creamer and Marion Bloom, "Some Data Indicative of the Need for More Liberal Unemployment Benefits," in the *Social Security Bulletin*, III, No. 1 (January, 1940), 6-9.

haust their benefit rights—a large percentage of all claimants—is probably less than in Michigan, perhaps not more than eight weeks, and almost certainly not above ten weeks.

It is at this point that unemployment compensation is most strikingly less liberal than workmen's compensation. There are limitations to the duration of compensation for temporary disability, but there are four or six years of compensation payments under the workmen's compensation acts. I do not argue that similar durations of benefits should be established in unemployment compensation. In unemployment compensation, as in every other type of insurance, only as much can be taken out in benefits as is put in in contributions. The benefits which can be paid from 2.7 per cent of contributions are distinctly limited. In the period of the last complete business cycle, 1922-33, unemployment among industrial workers is estimated to have averaged 15 per cent in the United States—8 per cent in the eight years of prosperity, 35 per cent in the four years of depression. In the business cycle we are now in, total unemployment is apparently much greater than the average of 15 per cent for the last complete cyclical period. With contributions limited to 2.7 per cent of pay rolls, manifestly not all the 15 per cent or more of working time lost through unemployment can be compensated. In England, where the combined contributions of employers, employees, and the government amount to about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total pay rolls in the covered employments, the benefit scales can, of course, be more liberal than in this country, although even in England only a part of all unemployment (less than half) is compensated. But we can pay better benefits from the 2.7 per cent contributions we have than we are doing, and we can have better benefits if we retain the 2.7 per cent contribution rates than if we reduce the contribution rates to 2 or 1.7 per cent. To reduce the contribution rates is certain to freeze benefits at their present low level and, in many states, would even necessitate a reduction in the present very inadequate benefits. This would render unemployment compensation almost worthless and would amount to selling the unemployed down the river for the sake of unexpected, and only slightly larger, profits. What we need to do, instead, is to increase our benefits as warranted by the existing 2.7 per cent contribution

rates; but even so we can compensate only a part of all unemployment and have to determine to whom among all of the unemployed the relatively small amounts we have available for benefit payments shall go. World-experience has demonstrated that unemployment compensation cannot be made to serve even reasonably adequately the needs of people who are only very irregularly employed and cannot be extended at all to people who have no employment in private industry. It can be made a fairly adequate first line of defense, however, for the largest group in our entire population; the urban workers who are normally fairly regularly employed. With our 2.7 per cent contribution rates, this first line of defense can be made much better than it now is and, clearly, should be strengthened. With reduced contribution rates, it would hardly be worth maintaining at all.

This brings me to a discussion of the methods through which unemployment compensation benefits can be increased. There are two alternative methods: (1) voluntary action by the state legislatures to increase the benefits in their unemployment compensation laws; and (2) the inclusion of minimum benefit standards in the Social Security Act, which the state legislatures would be compelled to adopt to entitle the employers in their states to the 90 per cent offset against the federal 3 per cent tax for unemployment insurance purposes.

Of these alternative methods, I consider the first preferable, provided that the state legislatures will actually voluntarily increase benefits as warranted by the present contribution rates. There is danger that the coercion of the states will be carried to a point where there will be such a strong reaction against federal intervention that we may lose even the federal tax—which is still very important to enable us to maintain unemployment compensation throughout the country. I am doubtful, also, about the sort of benefit standards which can be gotten through federal action. Most people who talk about federal standards assume that Congress would prescribe minimum standards such as are considered reasonable in the leading northern industrial states. But there are many more rural states than there are industrial states. Standards which might be set by the present Congress would very probably prove dis-

appointing to many of the people who are relying upon Congress to liberalize unemployment compensation benefits; and the next Congress may be much more conservative.

If federal benefit standards are adopted, they must either be set at so low a level that the states with the worst records with regard to the intermittency of employment can maintain solvent funds, or some of the state funds will be bankrupted, or some sort of a reinsurance fund must be instituted. If a reinsurance fund is financed from general federal revenues, such a fund will be all to the good. In the present state of the federal finances, however, I see little prospect that federal revenues will be made available for the maintenance of a reinsurance fund, to enable states with an excessive amount of compensable unemployment to pay the same benefits as states with less unemployment. The alternative is to take the money for the reinsurance fund from the contributions collected from employers in states which have average or less than average unemployment. This amounts to "robbing Peter to pay Paul"—to penalizing industries with little unemployment in order to subsidize industries which have an excessive amount of intermittent unemployment.

The other possibility that the federal benefit standards may be set at a high level and no reinsurance fund created, with the resulting bankruptcy of some of the state funds, seems to me still more hazardous. There are sincere supporters of unemployment compensation who believe that everything possible should be done to bring about the establishment of a federal system of unemployment compensation at the earliest date possible. Some of these sincere people think that the way to bring about the establishment of a federal system is to bankrupt some of the state funds; accordingly, they favor high federal benefit standards, without any reinsurance fund. I grant that it is a possibility that when a considerable number of state funds are bankrupted, a federal system of unemployment compensation may be substituted for the present state systems; but I suggest that it is at least as likely that, if a considerable number of state systems go bankrupt, unemployment compensation may be done away with entirely in this country.

Finally, I have doubts about either the need for or the desir-

ability of complete uniformity in unemployment compensation benefits throughout the United States. Almost certainly, if minimum benefit standards are inserted in the Social Security Act, it will be extremely difficult in all states to get the legislatures to adopt more liberal benefits, in any respect, than those prescribed in the federal law. If a reinsurance scheme accompanies the federal standards, it will be absolutely necessary to limit the benefit payments which may be financed from the reinsurance fund to the minimum benefits required by the federal act. In such circumstances, the minimum federal standards will become the uniform standards throughout the country. I have already expressed my belief that, at least in the long run, these minimum federal standards are more likely to suit the situations in the states which would naturally have low benefit standards than of the smaller number of industrial states in which higher standards have the support of public opinion.

At this stage, moreover, we know relatively little about what are the best standards in all situations. For instance, I incline to the view that a flat maximum duration of benefits is desirable, such as is proposed in all the bills now pending in Congress for minimum federal benefit standards; but a flat maximum duration of benefits can only be provided for if there are high qualifications for eligibility to benefits. It will not be possible anywhere to pay more in benefits to unemployed workmen than they earned in wages in the preceding year. As the experience of California and other states which have established flat maximum durations of benefits clearly indicates, such action must be accompanied by a raising of the qualifications for eligibility to benefits. The net result is that many workers who are now entitled to unemployment compensation benefits for short periods will be denied unemployment compensation at all. A flat duration of benefits will improve the compensation for the workers who are fairly regularly employed but will operate to cut off from unemployment compensation altogether a considerable number of workers who now have some protection. As I have stated, my personal preference is a flat maximum duration of benefits, but I do not think that we know enough about the effects of such a provision to be warranted in saying to the states, "Although you prefer to compensate a larger part of your workers to improving the compensation for those who are fairly regularly employed, you must

come to a flat maximum duration of benefits because Congress thinks this advisable."

This brings me to the final major issues in unemployment compensation today—experience rating. No other question is more of a headache to the administrators or has provoked more controversy among the theorists.

There are good theoretical arguments on both sides of this question. To me the weight of the theoretical arguments seems to be in favor of experience rating. I hold this view not so much because I believe that experience rating will operate to reduce unemployment, but because I believe that the adjustment of contribution rates to the varying risks of unemployment of different industries and establishments is in accord with prevailing American concepts. In all other "insurances" in this country, rates are adjusted to the risk. Our private economy is grounded upon the concept that each industry should stand on its own feet. Honest cost accounting requires that all costs be ascertained and properly allocated to the commodities produced or services rendered. An industry which operates intermittently occasions great costs to its employees and to society through its methods of operation. Whether it can or cannot operate more regularly, the unemployment which arises by reason of its intermittent or irregular operation is a cost which should be charged to the establishment producing the goods or services and which gets the profits of the enterprise. Every reason which can be advanced for contributions from employers only—and in all but six states all contributions come from the employers—logically leads to variable contribution rates—rates adjusted to risk and costs. In a socialistic economy it might be proper to have all industry collectively bear the costs of unemployment; in a private economy, where the profits go to particular entrepreneurs, all costs of production should be borne by the particular establishments, and these should include the unemployment compensation costs, as well as all other costs.

Can the employer reduce unemployment? I think it is a defeatist, antisocial attitude to say that he cannot do so. Of course, he cannot prevent all unemployment. But numerous employers have demonstrated that they can eliminate a large part of the extreme intermittency and irregularity of operation which characterizes many Amer-

ican industries. Charles A. Myers,⁴ who certainly was not biased in favor of the Wisconsin system, found, after a year's field investigation, which took him into a very large number of Wisconsin plants, that one-fourth of these plants had made efforts at stabilization with some degree of success. He further found that many more employers had reduced unemployment compensation costs by following the policy of "sharing the work," when orders declined, reducing hours of labor instead of laying off men. He did not consider this stabilization of employment, but it is the most widely prevalent of all methods of stabilization. Professor Emerson Schmidt⁵ of the University of Minnesota and the Employment Stabilization Service, which has been set up by Mr. Hormel and the American Legion and which is doing a notable work in interesting employers in stabilization and in advising them what they can do to stabilize, has concluded that practically every large employer in Wisconsin has done something to regularize his operations since our unemployment compensation law was enacted. I am satisfied that the Wisconsin law had greater effects in this respect because it has been so savagely condemned by critics from outside the state. But whether a similar record can be made in other states, whether a particular industry or establishment can or cannot reduce intermittency in its operations, does not affect the soundness of the adjustment of the contribution rates to the compensation costs. Charging its own unemployment compensation costs to each industry will furnish at least some incentive for regularization; but whether it does or does not reduce its costs, these should properly still be allocated to it. There are enormous differences in the amount of unemployment compensation costs occasioned by different industries and among different establishments in the same industry. At least so long as employers have to pay all these costs, there is every reason for trying to distribute these costs equitably among them, which leads, inevitably, to adjustment of the contribution rates to the unemployment compensation costs of the particular employer.

But while I believe that the weight of the theoretical arguments

⁴ "Employment Stabilization and the Wisconsin Act," *American Economic Review*, XXIX (December, 1939), 708-23.

⁵ "Easing the Payroll Tax Burden" in *Barron's*, January 1, 1940, and in the publications of the Employment Stabilization Service, Minneapolis.

is decidedly in favor of experience rating, I am also of the opinion that the experience-rating provisions of the existing state laws are very defective.

Before going into this matter, let me say, parenthetically, that the usual experience-rating provisions in the state laws were not copied from the Wisconsin law. They come from the model "pooled fund" bills of the Social Security Board, which, in turn, copied them from the "pooled fund" bill of the Ohio Commission of 1932, which was the great rival to the Wisconsin plan in the days before any state but Wisconsin had an unemployment insurance law.

A basic defect in experience rating under the existing state laws is that the contribution rates which employers must pay depends not upon how much unemployment they have but the volume of their compensable unemployment. There is a difference between the unemployment caused by discharges and layoffs by a particular firm and the amount of the resulting compensable unemployment. A minor factor producing such results is that there may be great differences in the length of time it takes discharged workers to get other employment, so that it is largely a matter of chance how much a given volume of unemployment due to discharges will cost in unemployment compensation. More important and more serious is the fact that under all experience-rating provisions now in the unemployment compensation laws, including the Wisconsin law, it is possible to reduce compensable unemployment without reducing unemployment, through taking advantage of the qualifications and exclusions of these laws so as to throw most of the unemployment into the groups among the employees who have no benefit rights. So long as this loophole exists, experience rating is very defective, and in actual operation will fail to secure the theoretical advantages of variable contribution rates.

Whether experience rating can be made to work equitably is still debatable. I am satisfied that the present provisions will be found to have many "niggers in the wood pile" and will have to be changed in many respects. Nevertheless, I am strongly of the opinion that the states should not only be permitted to have experience rating if they so desire, but should be helped by the Social Security Board to make experience rating work as equitably as possible.⁶ I hold

⁶ A beginning in work of this kind has been made by the Social Security Board in its studies *Administration of Automatic Merit Rating under Pooled Fund Laws*, Septem-

this view, not only because the Board suggested the present experience-rating provisions to the states (except in Wisconsin), but because employers believe variable contribution rates to be equitable and are willing to accept unemployment compensation, if it is accompanied by experience rating.

I believe that the point of view of the employers should be taken into consideration in the development of unemployment compensation; further, that if this is not done, unemployment compensation may be swept away entirely. It is very probable that once experience rating is tried, division will develop among the employers, particularly if experience rating works both ways—that is, if contribution rates are reduced when an employer has a good record and are increased if he has much compensable unemployment—which is what experience rating should do and how it actually works in Wisconsin. In our state, the contractors' association has this year come out against variable contribution rates and asked for an amendment to make the rates the same for all industries and all employers. A similar development can be expected elsewhere. Employers in industries which have a high rate of compensable unemployment, in the long run, are almost certain to favor flat contribution rates. But until experience rating is given a fair trial, the great majority of the employers will favor experience rating and will feel very aggrieved if they are not given an opportunity to reduce their unemployment compensation costs.

Legislation by Congress which would make it impossible for the states to have experience rating would, in my opinion, be most unwise. But there is a much stronger case for standards in the Social Security Act to provide a safeguard against the danger that some states may keep their unemployment benefits so low that their employers will get reduced contribution rates not because they have decreased unemployment or have very little unemployment in their plants, but solely because these states have abnormally low benefit scales. It must be conceded that in the absence of minimum benefit standards, below which the states may not fall, there is a distinct incentive for the states to keep their benefits abnormally low. The

ber, 1938, and *Current Experience Rating Research*, April, 1940, but much more active assistance will be necessary, if experience rating is ever to have a fair test.

strongest argument for federal action in unemployment compensation was that only through uniform tax rates throughout the country could states enact unemployment compensation laws without penalizing their manufacturers in competition with manufacturers from states without such laws. The same argument can be made for minimum benefit standards as a condition which the states must meet before they can permit any of their employers to pay less than the standard contribution rate of 2.7 per cent. As matters stand, the uniformity in contribution rates is being destroyed. That is quite proper, it seems to me, if the rates reflect differences in the amount of unemployment, but very inequitable if it is merely the result of low benefit scales in a particular state. Accordingly, while I am not in favor of minimum benefit standards which Congress forces all the states to adopt—at least, until it has been demonstrated that the states, without federal coercion, will not provide decent benefits—I believe that the Social Security Act should include provisions for minimum benefits which states should have to insert in their laws before any employer could claim as an additional credit against the federal tax a reduction in contribution rates allowed to him under the experience-rating provisions of the state law.

Summarizing my views as to what should be done in the matter of changes in our unemployment compensation laws, I believe that the time has come for materially increasing benefits, as can safely be done without necessitating increases in present contribution rates. I would prefer to have the increased benefits come as a result of voluntary state action, but if the states neglect to act, the federal government must act. Unsatisfactory as the present experience-rating provisions are, I am opposed to federal legislation which would prevent the thirty-five states which have experience-rating provisions in their laws but as yet do not actually have experience rating from putting these provisions into effect, as four states have done. But I think that Congress may properly amend the Social Security Act by making reduction in contribution rates under experience rating conditional upon inclusion in the state law of minimum benefit standards, to prevent employers from getting reduced rates merely because a state has unwarrantably low benefits.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF A FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY¹

EDITH ABBOTT

THIS current year is the beginning of the second decade of the tragic era that we have come to call "the depression," and this decade has seen revolutionary changes in our social welfare system. I do not need to take your time trying to tell you the story of these years. It is your story, and the picture today is the picture of the world in which you live and work.

The decade of change should have left us with new hopes and new visions, and I believe that it has; and it is in the spirit of those new hopes that our situation today must be reviewed. In spite of the vast changes and the wonderful new sources of help that we have been organizing in these last years, a great army of people, whom we call our "clients," are still there, clinging desperately to the relief lists—men, women, and children who are still destitute and in tragic despair of getting the help they need.

We have had several revolutions in methods of dealing with the relief problem; but we find ourselves still with a vast number of unemployed and their families dependent on general relief, or excluded from general relief when they are in desperate need—discouraged, defeated, and in despair. The tenth year has passed, and a new decade has begun, and we are still trying to understand why, even with vast new undertakings in the field of social welfare, and in spite of the very large sums spent for relief, the sufferings of the unemployed can be as severe as we know them to be at the present time.

ON THE W.P.A. WAITING-LISTS

There are now reported to be one million persons on the W.P.A. waiting-lists—and a recent excellent statement issued by the American Public Welfare Association indicates that during the past year there

¹ An address at the National Conference of Social Work, Grand Rapids, May 31, 1940. The title of the address has been changed.

have been more than a million on these lists. These people have been certified as being entitled to work because they are in need; but when W.P.A. jobs are not available, many, probably most of them, are not put "on relief" because large numbers of local communities will do nothing for them. Many of these communities have refused to accept any responsibility for the men who are able to work, and there has been a cruel community indifference regarding the needs of the families of these men.

These unemployed men and their families are people in need; they are without money for rent, for shoes, for clothing, and they are eating "surplus commodities" or remnants of food picked up here and there, and they are hunting through garbage cans. These are the indignities to which we have subjected these honest, hard-working people who are unemployed through no fault of their own.

The greatest and the richest country of the world—and we let our unemployed men and women, citizens of the great republic, go hungry and subsist on the most inadequate doles of food grudgingly handed out. In many areas the children of the unemployed have not had shoes to go decently to school or proper clothes to wear. There is general agreement among social workers about the fact that, in spite of the F.E.R.A., the C.W.A., the N.I.R.A., the W.P.A., the C.C.C., and the N.Y.A., our unemployed have been driven from pillar to post, from garret to basement—and then put in the street.

THE UNEMPLOYED MUST NOT BE "RETURNED TO THE STATES"

There are many theories about what to do—and it is well to begin by suggesting that, whatever we do, there is one thing we must *not* do. We must *not* turn the unemployed back to the states and minor local authorities, either on a grant-in-aid basis or on any other basis. Instead of leaving them to the varied and inadequate methods of care in forty-eight different states, the responsibility for the unemployed, who in 1935 were returned to cities, townships, and counties and left helpless and hopeless, should be completely assumed by the federal government.

Some of our friends have proposed to turn over to the states the large funds now being spent for the Federal Works Program and let the states determine whether they will give work or relief, and also

let the states or local communities decide what kind of work the federal and state funds should provide.

There has been some inclination on the part of social workers in some areas to accept this as a desirable policy, and it seems important to emphasize the dangers that lie in this direction. If we turn these funds and this program over to the states, we shall have not forty-eight but hundreds of miserable substitutes for our great national work program. What we shall have has been shown in the varieties of local "work for relief" now being carried on in state after state.

In an important article in a recent *Survey Midmonthly*^a Mr. Gill of the W.P.A. gives some very interesting facts about these local projects. He tells us that such work programs are operating in at least twenty-four states and that nine other states have legislation authorizing such work. In individual states the percentage of total relief families with local "work for relief" jobs ranges from less than 2 per cent in Virginia to over 25 per cent in Kansas.

These unemployed men and women working for their inadequate relief allowances are constantly creating new additions to the army of the unemployed because they are unwisely used to displace those who were formerly regular full-time workers in public employment. We are told that local relief clients who are given "work for relief" are frequently "performing regular functions for which it would otherwise be necessary to employ regular municipal workers." These relief workers are found acting as "janitors, cleaning and making repairs on public buildings, cleaning streets and doing light maintenance work on streets and highways." In some communities they are even used for collecting garbage. In one eastern city, when the sewage disposal plant became stopped up, relief workers were used to clean the disposal vats because the city engineer said that there were no other funds available.

There is, we are told, an "inherent trend" in these local work programs toward the displacement of regular public employees by cheap "labor for relief." This means that a method of unemployment relief has been used to relieve the city budget by putting their regular

^a May, 1940.

workers on relief lists and then pretending to be charitable by requiring them to work for relief. This is surely the finest kind of irony.

A UNITED EFFORT NEEDED FOR RECLAMATION

Ten years ago there was more than an even chance that our clients who asked for help would be given aid by a private social agency. But in this decade there has been a great change in all of our work. A recent number of the federal *Social Security Bulletin*,³ which gives the assistance statistics for 1939 for 116 urban areas, shows total expenditures of \$1,275,000,000 for public assistance, with 99 per cent of this work done by the public agencies and with only 1 per cent by the private societies in these 116 cities. But these private agencies are still very important even if the percentage of the work which they do directly is a very small and a decreasing percentage of the total volume of the services given to our clients. For the private-agency directors should be the great interpreters of social work—and they often are, as they should be, the staunchest friends of the public agencies that now meet the needs which they know are far beyond the scope of private agency resources. They should be busy, and large numbers of them *are* busy, with constructive planning for this great 99 per cent of the people who need help but who must now be cared for by a public authority. *We need now a united effort in a great reclamation movement.*

What are we to reclaim? Every social worker can answer that question. We are to reclaim the long-lost land of opportunity which has been taken from millions of our self-respecting American working men and women.

There is a wonderful book that was written and published in the late eighteenth century—a very beautiful book, written by a poor French immigrant, and called *Letters from an American Farmer*. Like all our millions of immigrants who have been coming to this country for more than three hundred years, he gloried in calling himself an American. He tried to point out to the hosts of people still suffering in Europe under grievous burdens of wars and heavy taxes what he thought America had done for the poor of Europe. "In this great American asylum," he said, "the poor of Europe have by some

³ April, 1940, p. 59.

means met together, and in consequence of various causes." In this new world, he said, everything had "tended to regenerate them; new laws, a new mode of living, a new social system." In America, he said, "they become men; in Europe they were as so many useless plants, wanting vegetative mould, and refreshing showers; they withered, and were mowed down by want, hunger and war; but now by the power of transplantation, like all other plants, they have taken root and flourished! Formerly they were not numbered in any civil lists of their country, except in those of the poor; here they rank as citizens." And then the "American farmer" went on to compare the lot of the workers in the new world with the hopeless lives of the friends they had left behind in their homes in Europe. "What attachment," he asked, "could a poor European emigrant have for a country where he had nothing? The knowledge of the language, the love of a few kindred as poor as himself, were the only cords that tied him. His country is now that which gives him land, bread, protection and consequence; *Ubi panis ibi patria*. 'Where bread is, there is my country,' is the motto of all emigrants." The emigrant farmer then described the American as "a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labour, he has passed to vigorous and rewarding toils."⁴

This account of what America offered to the poor of Europe, written by that emigrant "American farmer" in 1782, is the traditional picture of America for more than three hundred years. By offering them opportunities to work, we have lured millions of men and women across the seas. We have encouraged them to hope for success where in recent years they have found only defeat and despair.

To reclaim this lost land of opportunity for men and women who have struggled hopelessly to maintain their independence and have sunk into the morass of our inadequate relief system, we need something more than new grants-in-aid. We need to open new frontiers and give these people new hope of a life of self-respect.

An English statesman recently said that the lamps have been going out one by one all over Europe and that the destruction is so

⁴ J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (London, 1782).

complete that we shall never see them lit again within the generation of those now living.

This is true. But it is also true, and we must not let our Congress forget, that the lights have been going out in this country for millions of people since this depression period began more than ten years ago. And for millions of our clients the destruction and the demoralization are now so complete that the lights can never be rekindled. These people have lost everything and live in a waste land where the hope of rescue has been growing dimmer and dimmer in the last five years.

WANTED—NOT RELIEF BUT A BETTER METHOD
OF HELPING THE UNEMPLOYED

A method of reclaiming this vast area means a new recognition of the dignity of man. Let us face our issues squarely. These unemployed men and women do not want new federal grants-in-aid for general relief. Every social worker knows that they have been asking for work, and anything that is labeled "relief" is the last step in degradation for those unhappy men.

There are, unfortunately, some Americans who have been taught to call every form of state benefit, except, perhaps, the public schools, "relief"; but this word "relief" has come to have hateful connotations from which it can never be emancipated. Social workers certainly look forward to the time when the word "relief" will no longer have any place in our vocabulary.

The policy for the future is to reach into this unhappy No Man's Land now called "relief" and bring out first one group and then another. Call them "categories" if you like that term! Some of us have not liked to use it since a group of our eastern friends began to insist on talking about "relief categories." That seemed to be all that we wanted to know about "categories."

FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL UNEMPLOYED MEN
AND WOMEN

Let us make a new examination of this great problem. If we take all the unemployed off the relief lists—all the men and women who are able to work, this will include all those who have been certified for W.P.A. *plus* all those who ought to be certified for W.P.A. If we

do this, we shall immediately reduce our relief problem in many areas by 50 per cent. I propose that we take this great group of the unemployed and give the federal government complete responsibility for salvaging them. That is, a federal system of work for the unemployed plus federal responsibility for those not provided with work. No grants-in-aid for this group, no local work relief systems, no "hanging on" to general relief—what we need is a continuation of the federal work program with a new parallel federal program for all the unemployed who cannot be given work.

I should *like* to propose, although I fear it is not practicable at the present time, that we put this new "Work and Employment Security" division, this new program for the unemployed, in the Department of Labor. The care of the unemployed ought to be centralized there—the Employment Service, which was so recently taken from the Department of Labor, ought to be restored to that department, and Unemployment Compensation ought to be placed there. If any group belongs to a department of labor, surely the unemployed belong there. They belong to a department of labor and *not* to any relief category.

However, social workers believe in being realistic; and since we now have a separate "Works Agency," it may be necessary to have this continued for a time and to give this proposed organization to the present federal Works Agency and let this new authority take on the whole job. That is, assistance in its various forms to the unemployed—not only the federal work program but supplementing of Unemployment Compensation, supplementing the wages from the work program when that is necessary, and, most important of all, providing unemployment assistance when work is not provided for those able to work—certainly all belong together.

We have had five years of the great program that we call the W.P.A., and social workers are determined that this program shall not be destroyed but that it must, instead, be enlarged and strengthened. I am trying to indicate the ways and means by which we have been proposing to bring this about.

One method which seems to have been widely discussed recently is the setting up of a works program with the "Means Test" abolished. This obviously looks toward a combination in the future of

our two competing services, P.W.A. and W.P.A. Is this wise and practicable? And where does it leave the men and women below the margin of decent living—the people whom the social workers call their “clients”?

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE “WORK
OR MAINTENANCE”

Whatever is done, it is important to find a way to prevent the tragedy of the last five years, which has given work to some and starvation to others. And I am convinced that this can be done only by making the same *federal agency responsible for all provision for the unemployed*. I wish to go back to the time-honored labor slogan—the demand for “*work or maintenance*,” and this means maintenance on a self-respecting basis. We have here a basic demand that goes back to the very foundations of our democracy. What basis is there for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness if men do not have work, do not have food for their children, do not have a roof over their heads?

That is, this new reorganized federal agency must be made to provide not only *work* but *maintenance* for those who are able to work but who are given no work. A single federal agency must provide for the unemployed by providing either work or other means of support until work can be given, or until some new plan can be made for the unemployed man and his family—maintenance during a resettlement or retraining period—and special provision also for migratory laborers that will help them migrate in a planned and orderly way from places where no work is available or likely to be available to places where employment can be found.

CAN WE PROVIDE WORK NOW WITHOUT A “MEANS TEST”?

But now let us look more carefully at this proposal about abolishing the means test and see whether we understand just what this will do to our clients. The last delegate conference of the American Association of Social Workers, and our friend Mr. Bookman of Cincinnati in his recent address at the National Conference of Social Work, both indorsed a work program divorced from relief, and I think we are all in agreement in theory about this. This is our goal—

our objective. But are we realistic about this? Do we realize just what this means?

How many unemployed are there at the present time? No one knows. But, although there is a good deal of disagreement on this point, some reasonably satisfactory estimates are made. Mr. Bookman said in his address that there were from nine to eleven million unemployed. I should say twelve million; but, on the other hand, the National Industrial Conference Board makes conservative estimates, and their estimate a month ago was 9,304,000. Anyway, whatever figure you take, this is a very large number to employ without a means test and to employ on a regular full-time basis.

Now the next question is: How many of the unemployed are on W.P.A.? The current newspapers and the *Social Security Bulletin* give us the answer to that question. During the last year we averaged about two million, and the appropriation that will be available for next year will provide for only 1,320,000.

Now we see what is ahead. We believe in abolishing the means test, but we must agree, I think, in believing that no Congress will immediately combine P.W.A. and W.P.A. and set up a new program that will provide work on a full-time basis for any very large proportion of our nine to twelve million unemployed.

Since this is to be full-time work, a very much smaller number of jobs will be provided for the same amount of money. If you could double the amount of money that W.P.A. has had for its part-time job, if you tripled it, quintupled it, sextupled it, and so on and on, you still could not provide work for all the unemployed. And the result will be that *if the means test is abolished* and a full-time employment program substituted for W.P.A., then it is clear, if Mr. Bookman's efficiency program with the policy of firing the incompetent is rigorously maintained, these clients of ours who are now on W.P.A. will probably *not* be employed at all. Certainly, only a small minority will be employed in the new program. That is, in theory we may believe in abolishing the means test—I certainly do; it belongs in any statement of principles—but in practice we must, at the same time, concern ourselves about the millions who are at the bottom of the ladder and who will not get any work under any program that is available to all the unemployed whether they are in need or

not. What I want to emphasize is the fact that any attempt to set up a work program solely on an efficiency basis will provide for our poorly trained and disadvantaged group only after a large proportion of all the others are taken care of. At long last we may get a few jobs for our clients, but most of the present beneficiaries of W.P.A. will be once more thrown back into the general relief pool.

It is at this point that I differ from our friend Mr. Bookman. It is at this point that the Chicago chapter of the American Association fell out with the delegate conference at our recent meeting. Mr. Bookman apparently recognized this difficulty, but he would solve it by creating a new grant-in-aid system to take care of the unemployed in a new general relief category. I wish to get this group of our clients *out from any general relief program* and give them a kind of service that no omnibus relief program can ever provide.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROMISE TO PROVIDE FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

General relief is a survival of an old, inadequate, outworn, discredited system of social welfare. I am ready to go along with Mr. Bookman and the A.A.S.W. in asking grants-in-aid for general relief for those not in the unemployed group until some better method of salvaging other groups from this relief pool can be found. But I do not want the unemployed there. Theoretically, we got them out five years ago. It is important that social workers should be reminded that the President of the United States is committed to providing for the unemployed in another way. The case against relief for this group was very vigorously put by the President in the famous message he sent to Congress on January 4, 1935, in which he discussed "the task of putting people to work."

In this message, having described the vigorous efforts that had been made by the F.E.R.A., the C.W.A., the N.I.R.A., and the P.W.A., he came to what he called "the stark fact" that great numbers still remained unemployed. "A large proportion of these unemployed and their dependents had," he said, "been forced on the relief rolls, and the burden on the Federal Government had grown with great rapidity. Continued dependence upon relief," President Roosevelt said, "induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fiber. To dole out relief in this

way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit. It is contrary to the dictates of sound policy. It is in violation of the traditions of America. Work must be found for able-bodied but destitute workers."

Mr. Bookman proposes a grand new general relief pool with grants-in-aid. I agree with him, of course, in condemning the old system. I agree with him in his hope about some new things that he would like to see in the new system—good personnel, proper accounting, competent reporting. He thinks he can get this by waving grants-in-aid like a magic wand, but every social worker knows that the old political personnel and the old hip-pocket method of record-keeping are not going to be abolished by any new system of grants-in-aid for many a long and weary year. I agree that we should have a somewhat better relief organization with new grants-in-aid, and I shall be glad to have grants-in-aid for the remaining groups after the unemployed have been removed from the old relief pool. But even with grants-in-aid, this will still be a ramshackle system of relief with forty-eight different kinds and varieties of inadequacies. And let us not forget that with the abolition of the means test you will have most of those on V.P.A. and most of those who ought to be on W.P.A. thrown on the new relief organization. Do you think the proposed grants-in-aid will provide adequately for them?

Let me come back again to the time when the President announced his plan for W.P.A. early in January, 1935. At that time he said the new organization would take care of those whom he called "the victims of a nation-wide depression caused by conditions which are not local but national." In that historic message the President said very emphatically that the federal government was "the only governmental agency with sufficient power and credit to meet this situation. We have assumed this task," he said, "and we shall not shrink from it in the future. It is a duty dictated by every intelligent consideration of national policy to ask you to make it possible for the United States [not the states] to give employment to all of these three and one-half million employable people now on relief, pending their absorption in a rising tide of private employment." The important thing now is to hold the President to his great promise, which has not yet been redeemed.

A FEDERAL PROGRAM—FEDERALLY FINANCED
AND ADMINISTERED

If we are to go forward and not backward, we must have a *federal program* for the unemployed, federally financed and federally administered, and not a grant-in-aid program. A proper program for the unemployed must be a federal program because unemployment is a national problem. Because it calls for heroic remedies and heroic expenditures that are beyond the resources of the individual states and beyond any but a national administrative system; because dealing with the question of unemployment calls for skilled and specialized administrators; because it calls for a pooling of the nation's best brains and the nation's most vigorous and most courageous action, pooled in behalf of the whole forty-eight states instead of the grant-in-aid system with good work in one state and miserable, makeshift, half-hearted efforts in another.

THE "EQUALIZATION" MYTH

Then there is that other magic word, "equalization"; and we hear many proposals for grants-in-aid, always with the provision that, of course, this must be on an "equalization" basis. But how is this mythically fair distribution of federal funds to be carried out? Magical formulas are produced; but it is no secret that these formulas do not work when vast sums of public money are at stake and every local statesman, not to mention the local politician, thinks he has as good a right to use methods of subterfuge and concealment of resources as the next one. We all saw the beautiful formulas that the financial wizards, who were less successful in the role of super-salesmen, set up for our old friend Harry Hopkins, and we know that Harry looked at the formulas and went serenely on his way distributing his funds by a kind of superguesswork process. The states that were successful in "playing poor" asked—and got—more than they should have had, and others asked—and needed—as much, but got less. The truth is, of course, that some states are *unable*—and others are *unwilling*—to carry the load; and the only method of true equalization will come through complete federal support for a federally administered program. Everyone knows that there is "equity and justice" in the federal taxing machinery that is entirely absent

from local property taxes and local sales taxes. Therefore, I emphasize as one of the great merits of the proposed federal system that it provides the only just method of securing equalization.

OPEN A NEW FRONTIER FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

Those of us who come from the West (and I sometimes think that most of the social workers in the East originally came from the West) are not afraid of crossing frontiers. The old method of relief that provided the only care furnished at public expense gave a kind of rude security that belonged to pioneer days. The poor laws were the covered wagons that carried people who were in need and in trouble over the frontiers of earlier generations as the covered wagons carried our pioneer parents and grandparents westward to the land of promise. But the twentieth century demands that people should not continue to endure these same hardships in the settled country of today and in a country that is supposed to be a land of plenty.

Another president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, said in one of his state papers that he believed that "the leading object of the government is to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life." Does anyone think the unemployed are going to have this "fair chance" after we throw them back from W.P.A. to forty-eight state relief programs and thousands of different county, township, and municipal programs?

I am not proposing a new and untried remedy. In the first place, we have tried various federal agencies, both federally financed and federally administered, for many years. I will mention only two of them now—the Farm Security Administration and the Works Projects Administration. While I do not claim that either of these agencies furnishes an example of a perfect administrative system, I do claim they are vastly superior to the forty-eight different kinds of incompetencies that we get in state-administered welfare grant-in-aid agencies—not to mention the complicating situation of several thousand local administrative authorities that demand participation by unqualified personnel under a state system. F.S.A. would be vastly improved if the social services needed in that agency were

under social workers instead of home economists without any graduate professional training. And W.P.A. personnel should, of course, be on civil service—and I do not mean any crude “blanketing in” merit system but open competitive selection on an honestly administered merit basis. But the thing to do with these two important agencies is not to abolish them—and destroy the gains of these years of experiment—but to improve them. Social experimentation is very costly, and we should not by ruthless destruction break the orderly process of development which could lead us to a better administrative organization.

W.P.A. is very much in our thinking and discussion now, and I hope we are clear that the only wise policy is to improve this federal authority and increase its responsibilities for our clients. We shall be taking not one step backward but a long march backward if we destroy this federal agency by substituting one more half-effective grant-in-aid to the forty-eight different state systems.

Second, our experience in this field is not unique, and I wish, briefly, in passing, to remind you of the work of the British Unemployment Assistance Board. In those faraway days before the present war began, Great Britain made the experiment of taking assistance for the unemployed away from the local public assistance authorities and turning this important group with their specialized needs over to a new central authority, the Unemployment Assistance Board.⁵ The old relief authorities were no longer to hand out doles to unemployed men and women, but a new central authority was made responsible not only for relief but for such important work as re-training and transference. An authority of this kind in our country would end not only the old poor relief inadequacies but would also end many of the difficulties of migratory labor. The unemployed would be advised and assisted in migration from places where the outlook

⁵ See the last annual report of the Unemployment Assistance Board, Cmd. 6021 (London, May, 1939), with its account not only of allowances to the unemployed but also of the work of “maintenance and improvement of employability of applicants to the Board.” Here is the story of the work done by this central governmental authority in providing government training centers, instructional centers, physical training of various grades and kinds, “inquiry into the position of younger applicants,” inquiry into long unemployment, industrial transference, and other aspects of this great problem of unemployment. And see pp. 585-87, below.

is hopeless to places where it is promising. This would be a planned, orderly migration instead of the present haphazard guesswork system.

It is interesting, too, that the recent Canadian Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations should have pointed out the necessity of complete Dominion provision for the unemployed instead of the old provincial grant-in-aid system.⁶

And, my friends, in closing I wish to say that I shall not be discouraged if you do not accept this proposal. I suggested the importance of complete federal responsibility before the American Public Welfare Conference last December, and our eastern friends not only voted me down—unanimously—but shouted me down. I again suggested the importance of this plan to the Public Assistance Committee of the White House Conference last January and I was politely, but very firmly, voted down again but not unanimously. More recently, on behalf of the Chicago group, I proposed this plan again before the Delegate Conference of the American Association of Social Workers, and this time I was more successful, and they are going to take three months to think it over before they vote it down! So we are making some progress, and I do not feel either defeated or discouraged. We need both courage and faith in dealing with this question. Faith in our clients and courage to work out a new road to freedom that they can follow. I was asked recently how the details of this plan could be worked; and I said that, of course, it would not be easy and, of course, there would be difficulties, but, equally, of course it can be done. The easy way is to go on along a well-worn path, whether it leads anywhere or not. But that should not be the method of social work.

Social workers are not afraid of difficult tasks. In fact, I sometimes think we enjoy having a battle to fight for a good cause, and I know it is usually a stimulus to action. And I have a firm conviction that several battles will have to be fought before this frontier is opened.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

⁶ Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, *Report*, Appen. 6: *Public Assistance and Social Insurance*, by A. E. Grauer (Ottawa, 1939).

THE DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC LABOR EXCHANGES IN SWEDEN

HARRISON CLARK

OF VITAL importance to an unemployment program which hopes to provide jobs as well as relief is a system of labor exchanges which can perform the double-headed function of testing the willingness to work of, and finding jobs for, the relief recipient. At best, adjustments on the labor market must be haphazard and irregular even with a well-functioning placement service, but when the individual worker must himself adjust to changing market conditions, with little knowledge of economic conditions in other trades and localities, mobility will be slow and unemployment higher than economic conditions warrant. The labor exchange is probably most effective in frictional unemployment—that is, in the transfer of an individual from one job which he has left or lost to another where his work is in demand. This may mean a change in permanent employment, such as a transfer from one trade to another or from one city to another, or it may mean a partial change coming regularly through the dovetailing of seasonal trades. A labor exchange may, however, also be effective in times of cyclical unemployment, for this generally brings with it a dislocation of industry, and certain trades may have a steady or even an increasing demand for labor while demand is declining elsewhere. Certainly the state, faced with the necessity of vast relief expenditures, cannot afford to overlook any opportunity of placing workers in employment.

The placement work of a labor exchange is only one part of its function, if it is to perform an adequate service to the labor market. As a pool of information for the employer, for labor, and for the government, it can serve to centralize statistics and information which would otherwise not be available. It will help to reduce the surplus of unskilled labor which congregates around areas of occasional unemployment and to focus light on opportunities for employment and workers suited to fill them, which will do much toward

curtailing some of the wastes of job and personnel hunting. More important, perhaps, than its placement work are its activities in personnel administration, the training of young workers, the administration of social benefits, and the hiring of workers for public works. In all these activities the Swedish labor exchanges have engaged.

The Swedish government has long recognized the importance of the labor exchanges, and the increased intervention on the part of the Socialist regime in the affairs of the labor market after 1933 included among its many reforms a thoroughgoing reorganization of the labor exchanges; the state subsidy was increased, the functions of the exchanges were expanded, and the administration was unified and centralized in order to increase the effectiveness of their work. The social policies of the Swedish government have for some time attracted a great deal of attention from the social scientists of this country. The labor exchanges of Sweden, which are national in scope, thoroughly co-ordinated in action, and a most effective agency in seeking out all available opportunities for work, have not received the attention they deserve. For thirty-three years the Swedish government has been building up a vast network of public placement services, which ranges from the four-story edifice in Stockholm to peripatetic agents using buses, boats, and even sleighs in the wilds of north Sweden. The state-owned transportation agencies, the railroad, the telephone, the telegraph, and the radio are all employed by the exchanges, whose work covers such functions as the recruiting of labor by buses spanning an area as large as Pennsylvania in Norrland, the transportation of workers a thousand miles from one seasonal job to another, and the setting-up of trades training schools and camps for young workers in depressed areas.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EXCHANGES

The development of the last thirty years has brought with it the all but complete disappearance of the private fee-agency, whose limitations have long been recognized. Its disappearance and replacement by a state-wide system has come more and more to make of Sweden a truly national labor market, an important factor in a country where labor, for centuries attached to the same village or farm, has been relatively immobile. In its place is an agency on

which the worker can rely for honest and effective guidance in his choice of work and on which the employer can rely for the best worker available.

The placement service of the old guilds, which disappeared in Sweden in the middle of the last century, was taken over by private placement agencies and by the trade-unions, and as industry expanded the private agencies became of increasing importance. As early as 1884 the government felt it necessary to exercise a restraining influence on these private agencies. A bill passed by the Riksdag in that year ordered such agencies to be licensed by the provincial governments, and these agencies received such licenses only on the basis of need in the community. Special rules were drawn up for the protection of Swedish workmen placed in work abroad, and a public announcement of fees to be charged was required.¹

In 1895 a committee to investigate unemployment, appointed by the governor of Stockholm, recommended as one of its proposed measures the establishment of a system of labor exchanges to be set up by the state or by the communes or private persons, but with state subsidy and control.² Although the government, from the nineties on, gave increasing attention to the problems of the labor market, bills providing for a national system of employment exchanges failed to pass the Riksdag in 1901 and 1902. It was from the communes rather than the national government that the initiative came. In 1902 the cities of Gothenburg and Hälsingborg established local exchanges, and in 1905 their example was followed by Stockholm, Malmö, and Lund. In addition to these, other agencies were operated by employers' associations, trade-unions, and philanthropic societies.³

In 1905 the representatives in the Riksdag of the five cities which had set up exchanges wrote to the head of the civil department and

¹ Industrial Relations Counselors, *Administration of Public Employment Offices and Unemployment Insurance* (New York, 1935), p. 199.

² I am indebted to Dr. Sven Skogh, of the Royal Social Board in Stockholm, for permitting me to read an unpublished manuscript of his entitled "Huvuddragen av den offentliga arbetsförmedlingens utveckling i Sverige," from which I have drawn some of the historical material. Much of the rest of the material has been obtained by discussions with officials of the labor exchanges in Sweden.

³ *Administration of Public Employment Offices* . . . , p. 200.

requested him to draw up plans for national measures which would be suitable for furthering the development of these exchanges. The letter pointed out that the exchanges were suitable for both small and large cities and that only with state aid could a rational co-operation between the existing exchanges be brought about. The exchanges were of such vital importance to the nation at large that a unified system was highly desirable and, in fact, a pressing necessity if they were to perform an effective service. This memorandum further pointed out that the statistical information to be obtained on conditions in the labor market would be of inestimable value to the local governing bodies and to the national government.

The Board of Trade⁴ approved the plan of a state subsidy to the local labor exchanges in order to bring about a more unified national system. The Board pointed out that developments in the labor market and the growth of industry in Sweden had made it imperative to find a more rational way of bringing together supply and demand on the labor market than the planless seeking after work or workers which was so much in evidence. The private agencies were unsatisfactory because they were operated for profit rather than for the good of their clientele, they were not able to cover the labor market as a whole, and there was no co-operation among them. The public labor exchanges would be little better if they were isolated. The time had come for a state-wide system.

The Board proposed that the initiative for the formation of the labor exchanges come from the communes and that the costs of organization and administration be paid by them, while the state would assume all the expenses for interoffice communication by providing free telephone, telegraph, and postal service, and also by providing all their papers and books in order that a uniform system of bookkeeping and accounting might be established. In return for the state subsidy the communal exchange was to be obliged to report monthly to Stockholm on fixed formulas. In cases where communes could not bear all the expenses of administration, the state could assume a part of the costs, if this seemed desirable as the exchanges developed.

⁴ The Board of Trade performed approximately the same functions as the Department of Commerce in the United States.

These recommendations of the Board of Trade formed the basis of the bill which was introduced into the Riksdag in 1906. The government voted 15,000 kronor for defraying the expenses of the exchanges for postal, telephone, and telegraph services and for part of the expenditures of the exchanges in sending men to the country districts which were in need of labor. A part of this rather small sum, which was later increased, went to the Board of Trade for its work in supervising the communal labor exchanges. The nine public employment exchanges which in 1906 received a government subsidy filled 31,00 positions in their first year as a co-operant system.⁵

The rules drawn up on September 20, 1907, by the Board of Trade for the public labor exchanges which were to receive a state subsidy have been the basic principles down to the present day. A state subsidy was granted to those labor exchanges set up by the communes, the provinces, or by agricultural societies to cover the costs of interoffice communication, provided that they fulfilled the following conditions:

The labor exchanges shall include all types of work for both men and women, and there shall be as a general rule no special costs charged to the employer or worker who uses the exchange;

Regard shall be taken at the exchange to see that the employer receives the best available worker and the worker the work for which he is best suited;

The direction of the labor exchange shall be exercised by a board, headed by an impartial chairman, and members chosen equally among the employers and the workers;

The labor exchanges shall use an office and working system approved by the supervising authorities;

Statistical information concerning the work shall be placed at the disposal of the supervising authorities.⁶

In 1910 a regular system of interoffice clearing was established, and there began a weekly distribution of lists of all available openings on a district and national basis. Under this plan the country was divided into seven districts, each composed of several provinces. Employment opportunities which could not be filled by the communal office were published weekly in a district list, and if these

⁵ *Administration of Public Employment Offices* . . . , p. 220.

⁶ *Handbok för den offentliga arbetsförmedlingen*, utgiven av K. Socialstyrelsen (Stockholm, 1936), p. 7.

continued to remain vacant they were reported to Stockholm, which in turn published a weekly list of opportunities available in the whole country, and this was circulated to all the public labor exchanges in Sweden.

From 1906 on, the public labor exchanges received a grant covering all their costs for postage, telephone, telegraph, and printed material and in addition grants covering any special costs undertaken to place men in agricultural employment; to cover this latter expense the state subsidy was raised to 25,000 kronor in 1910. The chief significance of this grant by the government in 1906 was that it represented the first permanent national undertaking with regard to unemployment, preceding by six years the organization of the Royal Social Board in 1912 to deal with the problems of the labor market and which took over the administration of the labor exchanges in that year from the Board of Trade.

In 1914 the National Unemployment Commission was organized to handle state unemployment relief, and since that time there has been a continuous broadening of the duties of the public labor exchanges. In 1914, with the introduction of national relief, the exchanges began to function as central control organs in the administration of relief. The primary requirement for relief was to have applied for but not received work at a labor exchange; and where no exchange existed, and unemployment was sufficiently heavy to necessitate a program of state relief, a local placement agent was appointed. From 1914 on, therefore, registration of persons seeking work was no longer purely voluntary, and the work of the exchanges was thereby increased, both in registering applicants for work (and relief) and in its capacity as an advisory body to the local and provincial relief committees organized in that year. In order to increase the placement in private employment of those on relief a law in that year provided for the assumption by the government of part of the traveling costs of indigent persons to new employment. In the following year an additional grant was given to cover the costs of placing men who had performed their military service.

In 1908 the first provincial relief exchange was organized in Östergötland, with a head office in the capital and branch offices throughout the province, and by 1915 there were provincial exchanges in

all the twenty-four provinces of Sweden, in addition to eleven independent offices organized in the larger cities and eighty-three branch offices throughout the country. Where unemployment was heavy, occasional unpaid agents were also appointed whose work was limited, for the most part, to registering applicants for relief.

As early as 1906 the Riksdag had decided that a part of the state grant should go to exchanges which performed special services for the rural districts, and in 1915 a grant was made for placing military men in employment. In 1917 the state subsidy was raised to 70,000 kronor in order to increase this type of occupational specialization within the national labor exchanges. This specialization aimed to give greater effectiveness to the work through vocational guidance, through confining staff members to a limited range of occupations, or to one occupation, and thus to increase the experience of the personnel who would know the characteristics and qualifications needed for these jobs and would perform a more intelligent selection of workers, in accordance with the principle of the exchanges that they must select the worker best qualified for the work and that the worker must receive the work for which he is best suited. This specialization was to be accomplished by establishing a special division, either separate from the regular exchange or functioning within it, which would deal solely with the workers of a certain trade, or of a certain type, such as young people. From the beginning the exchanges had, at the insistence of the government, gone out of their way to meet the needs of the country districts, especially at harvest time. The needs of the agricultural districts were so generalized, however, that no provision had been made for special agencies, since the rural districts were able to draw on the vast unskilled labor market of the cities. The problems of industrial workers, and especially of skilled workers, were so dissimilar, however, that it was felt that so far as it was feasible the exchanges should specialize along occupational lines.

Under this new plan, which began to operate in 1916, representatives of the workers and of the employers within a trade were chosen as an advisory council to the labor exchange. Until 1920 the work of specialization was confined to the establishment of divisions or of separate hours within the exchanges. In 1920, under the Genoa

Agreement which Sweden signed and which provided for the abolition of private profit-making placement agencies for seamen, the Swedish government established seamen's exchanges organized and administered separately from the ordinary exchanges in the four great ports of Gothenburg, Hälsingborg, Stockholm, and Malmö. In 1922 this service was extended to eighteen other ports where agents were appointed. Largely for the establishment of seamen's bureaus, the state subsidy was raised from 70,000 to 123,000 kronor.

In 1928 the Riksdag voted a small grant for "facilitating a choice of trade and the placement of young people."⁷ In the following year the Royal Social Board and the School Supervising Board, in co-operation, began to work out various practical measures for a more systematically organized youth placement service and vocational guidance. The decision of the Riksdag had been influenced by the results of the unemployment census of 1927, which showed an unexpectedly high percentage of youthful unemployment. In 1931 this grant was increased, and in late years about ten offices have established special divisions within the exchange for the placement and vocational guidance (in co-operation with the schools) of young people.

In 1930 the state grants to the exchanges were raised from 123,000 to 247,000 kronor in order to provide for the traveling costs and daily expenditure while traveling of the personnel of the labor exchanges. This opened the way for a more ambulatory and flexible service, especially in the forest areas of the north, which could not be well served by a fixed office.

THE REORGANIZATION IN 1934

With the coming of the depression in 1930 and the vast expansion of relief activities, the requirement that the person seeking relief had to register at the local labor exchange necessitated the establishment of offices or of occasional agents in nearly every municipality in Sweden. In addition to the regular permanent network of offices, more than a thousand agents were appointed whose functions as a rule were confined to registering the applicants for relief, as well

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

as those for work. The formalized function and the passive nature of the service, which ignored for the most part the placement side of their function, and, in fact, the passive nature of a large part of the Swedish placement system and operation, led in 1934 to a reorganization of the exchanges in order to establish a service that should engage more actively in looking for work opportunities on the open market and in training workers for positions for which there was a demand.

Although, before 1934, the exchanges received a national subsidy for their work, they were essentially local agencies, more concerned with the local than the national labor market. In addition, although they performed an effective service, they were in essence a registration service rather than an active force in the labor market. In the reorganization act of 1934 the exchanges were greatly extended in the scope of their operations, and they were brought under a much increased state control. At the close of 1934, just before the reorganization was to take effect, there were in existence 137 head and branch offices. By 1936 there were 155 head and branch offices, an increase brought about by the act, which provided for the compulsory establishment on the part of the provincial assemblies, and of all cities outside of the jurisdiction of these assemblies, of a head office and a sufficient number of branch offices or agents, wherever it was, in the opinion of the Royal Social Board, necessary.

In order to provide greater resources for the exchange and to increase the state control, the state subsidy now covers one-half of all the costs of the exchanges, instead of merely the expenditures on interoffice communication, while more than half is assumed by the state in cases where the exchanges perform special occupational work or train young people. The state contribution to the travel costs of a person going to employment outside of his own commune was raised from one-half to three-quarters.

The impartial chairman is now chosen by the provincial boards, with the approval of the Royal Social Board instead of the town councils, in order to decrease local control. In order to separate the functions of relief and of placement work the chairman of the local unemployment committee may no longer act as chairman of the labor exchange or as an exchange agent.

THE ADMINISTRATION

As at present constituted, the administration and organization of the national labor exchanges are as follows: under the minister for social affairs there functions the Royal Social Board, whose general director is also chairman of the State Unemployment Commission. Within the Social Board there is a special bureau dealing with the labor exchanges. Reporting to this bureau are the 25 head provincial offices and the 4 head offices in the cities of Sweden which are outside of the provincial administrative machinery. Under these 29 head offices there were in 1939, 137 branch offices, 478 fixed agents, and 19 independent seamen's bureaus. In addition to these there were about 600 occasional or local placement agents.⁸

Although they work in close co-operation with the agencies handling unemployment relief and the newly established unemployment insurance, placement work is, of course, the primary function of the exchanges. In performing this they are supposed to follow developments in the local labor market and to keep in close touch with the employers and business leaders of the community as well as the unions. Where there is a recurring seasonal demand for labor, the exchanges consult the employers ahead of time in order to be able to provide a sufficient supply of labor. The handbook of the labor exchanges says—in italics—that “if the employers do not come to the placement service the exchange should seek out the employers and offer them their services.”⁹ In addition the exchanges do considerable newspaper advertising; a 2,500 kronor grant, for example, is given by the government to the Stockholm exchange each year for this purpose. There is also each Thursday on the national radio

⁸ *Sociala meddelanden*, Vol. L, No. 2 (1940), utgiven av Kungl. Socialstyrelsen, p. 92.

These local or temporary agents are established in depressed areas where special efforts are being made to place workers elsewhere. In addition, they are placed in areas where unemployment insurance is being paid out. Under the recently established system of unemployment insurance, the administration is in the hands of the trade-unions, but like relief, those receiving such insurance must have “applied for, but not received” work at the labor exchange. Under the provisions of the act a man may be required to take work in another trade than his own, provided that he is able to perform the work and that the wages are approximately the same, even though he is receiving unemployment insurance through the union in his own trade, and if he refuses to take such work he is shut off from the benefits.

⁹ *Handbok* . . . , p. 15.

system a broadcast of all opportunities for skilled work in Sweden which have not been filled within the previous two weeks by the exchanges—broadcasts which have been markedly successful.

The exchanges have taken the initiative not only in seeking out work but in seeking out workers who would not otherwise be reached, by means of ambulatory agents. In the vast forest regions of Norrland there are several circulating employment agents whose traveling costs are paid by the state, and these agents use buses, boats, railways, and sleighs to travel from work place to work place collecting workers, who are transported to jobs which are open. For the transportation costs of the workers the state pays three-quarters of the cost, and the employer, the worker, or the commune pays one-quarter. In addition the exchanges have also undertaken to establish special schools for the training of workers in trades where the demand for labor is particularly heavy. In such districts as Blekinge and Bohuslän where employment has lagged behind in the general economic recovery, metal-trades training schools have been established for young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, and these schools have been a pronounced success owing to the shortage of skilled labor in industry and in shipbuilding in recent years. In addition forestry schools have been established there and in Norrland. The Social Board has also sent special agents of the exchanges to Blekinge and Bohuslän, Sweden's depressed areas, and these agents have placed about half of the unemployed stoneworkers of the district elsewhere. Since these workers are skilled they are not only more easily placed elsewhere but are more willing to move than the unskilled.

Under the original rules formulated in 1907 "the employer must receive the best labor available and the worker the work for which he is best suited."¹⁰ This has always been a primary condition for the state subsidy and was designed to protect the worker and the employer from "parish protectionism." If several persons have, in the judgment of the exchange, equal qualifications, the worker with the largest family is chosen, and if these are also the same, then the worker is chosen who has been longest unemployed. Under the rules as set by the Social Board, no regard is taken of the age or place

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

of residence of the worker unless the employer has set these as qualifications. If the worker refuses to accept a job proffered him, the local unemployment committee is notified if he is on relief, or his unemployment insurance fund is notified if he is a member of such an organization. No charge is made to either the employer or the worker except where special costs have been incurred at the request of an applicant.¹¹

The exchange functions independently of the conditions of employment. For example, there may be a labor conflict taking place, and the employer may send to the exchange for substitute workers. The exchange cannot refuse to accept such an application, but it must explain to the worker the conditions under which he is expected to work.¹² The refusal of a worker to take work offered to him does not shut him off from the services of the labor exchange, although it may in certain circumstances debar him from relief, and this is judged by the local unemployment committee and the State Unemployment Commission, not by the exchange.¹³ In applying for work, the applicant gives his name, address, legal residence, trade and training, etc., and the number of persons whom he must support (at the exchange this means his wife and children, although at the unemployment committee it includes all whom he must support).¹⁴

Since the purpose of the state subsidy is to bring about co-operation between the various offices, it is up to the provincial head offices to make the co-operation as methodical as possible. There are in each province several centrally located offices in the more urban areas, with agencies in the outlying parts of the province, and these agents turn to the nearest central office when they cannot fill an order. In addition there are traveling supervisors who go out from the head provincial office and act both as inspectors of the branch offices and as contact men with the employers in the outlying districts.

The provincial offices, of which there are twenty-four, are grouped into districts, of which there are eight.¹⁵ The head office of each district makes up each week a district list of vacancies, containing

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

the number of jobs available which have not been filled and the number of workers who have registered for work and have not received it, which list is made up from information supplied by the local and provincial offices in the district. This list is circulated to all offices and agents in the district, to every head provincial office in the country, and to the Royal Social Board.¹⁶ Each office, in supplying information to the district office, mentions those positions which it would like to see go on the national vacancy list, and from these are winnowed the most promising positions, which are sent to the Board in Stockholm. From these lists provided by the district offices, the Social Board makes up a national vacancy list each week which goes to all offices and agents in the country, to all insurance funds, to the employers' organizations, the trade-unions, and to all relief works projects.¹⁷

It has been recognized for many years as desirable to have special sections for certain trades, and especially in the larger cities the exchanges have increasingly come to divide up into subsections and to specialize along occupational lines. In ten of the cities, for example, there are special agencies for young people, with separate hours or waiting-rooms. The largest labor exchange, that in Stockholm, is divided into about fourteen separate parts, one section for domestic servants, another for building workers, a third for unskilled workers, and a fourth for young people, etc.

The management of the local exchange is under a committee composed of representatives of workers and employers and an impartial chairman. These committees determine policy and assist in the choice of personnel.¹⁸ The number on the committee ranges from five to eleven, and the endeavor is made to have the most important trades in the locality represented. In addition there is, within the Social Board, a social council composed of both workers and employers who act as an advisory body to the exchanges. Each commune formulates its own rules for the choice of the exchange personnel.¹⁹ The manager need not be a full-time appointee, and in the smaller communes he is usually not. He must not, however, be the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Administration of Public Employment Offices . . .*, p. 210.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

chairman of the local unemployment committee, a provision made necessary by the fact that, while relief is on a local basis, the unemployment exchanges are on a national basis, and so far as possible the two agencies have been separated.

If a person is on home relief, that is, if he is receiving a cash allowance, he is required to register daily at the labor exchange and to have his card stamped to that effect. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. If it is inconvenient for the unemployed worker to register daily because of the distance he lives from the exchange, he is often relieved of this duty, especially in the agricultural and forestry regions of Sweden. He must, however, in all cases register at least once a week. Other exceptions are made to the rule when there is a great amount of unemployment in a particular city or trade, but in times when the demand for labor is stable or increasing the rule is usually enforced. A dispensation can also be made if a worker is going elsewhere to look for work.²⁰ If the man is on work relief he is not required to report to the labor exchange, but he is registered there as continuously seeking work, and so far as possible the exchanges endeavor to give preference in jobs to those who are on relief.

When state relief works are set up the State Unemployment Commission informs the local unemployment committee as to how many workers it may send to the works and when the works will begin. This committee in turn informs the local labor exchange which workers have been chosen to go to the state works, and a description is forwarded to the exchange of the place and conditions of the work. This is posted at the exchange, and at the next visit of the chosen worker to the exchange he is informed that he is to be sent to a state work.²¹ If the worker refuses to go the unemployment committee is informed immediately, the worker is debarred from relief, and a substitute is chosen to go in his stead. He is recalled immediately from the work whenever the exchange finds him work on the open market, and since these works are so designed that they can be expanded or contracted with ease, a sudden increase of demand on the open market can easily be met by withdrawing

²⁰ *Handbok* . . . , p. 74.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

workers from the relief works. As soon as the worker obtains work on the open market, whether through his own or the exchange's efforts, all his travel costs to his new employment are paid by the state.²² The procedure with regard to the state-communal and communal works is about the same, the difference being only that these works are usually located in the commune itself, while the state reserve works are located elsewhere. Those workers taking courses are required to withdraw as soon as they have found work on the open market. They too are required to report at the labor exchange at least once a week.

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF PLACES FILLED IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
BY THE PUBLIC LABOR EXCHANGES OF SWEDEN
1926, 1930, 1936, 1939

Division	1926	1930	1936	1939
Agriculture and Forestry.....	46,267	51,406	61,237	68,550
Industry and Handicraft.....	13,937	15,969	34,174	66,262
Seamen and Fishing.....	20,647	25,518	22,904	34,987
Commerce, Communications and Service Trades.....	24,673	37,462	57,597	110,846
Domestic Service.....	67,845	77,116	82,925	114,009
Unskilled, etc.....	16,692	20,153	42,577	41,426
Total.....	190,061	227,714	301,414	436,080
Placed on relief works.....	12,677	8,943	32,323	13,362
Total.....	202,738	236,657	333,737	449,442

The increased state subsidies, broadening national control, and the growing effectiveness of the exchanges in recent years have greatly increased the number of placements. From 1926 to 1939 there was a gain of about 125 per cent in the number of persons placed in employment by the public labor exchanges, a gain affecting every important occupational division in Sweden (Table 1). Since 1936, with a larger state subsidy and a reorganized system, the effectiveness of the exchanges has noticeably increased. Although 1936 was a boom year in Sweden with a heavy demand for labor, placements have increased since then 45 per cent in other than relief work.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

The population of the United States is about twenty-two times that of Sweden, and a comparable figure for placements in the United States would be about ten million, a figure which shows the magnitude of the services which the Swedish exchanges render. The 450,000 placements of 1939 represent about 14 per cent of the working population of Sweden as it was calculated in the 1930 census. A great part of these placements was, of course, short-time or seasonal work which have always been a large part of the public placement work. About 10,000 men each year, for example, are transferred between the forests of Norrland, where they work in the winter, and the beet fields of Scania, over a thousand miles to the south, where they work during the summer.

How many of the total number of places that are filled each year are filled by the exchanges it is impossible to estimate. The trade-unions and the larger employers have in many cases their own employment services, and other agencies such as the poor boards, the churches, the local unemployment committees, and the charities carry on placement work, and, of course, word of mouth must also play a considerable role; but the national system unquestionably dominates the labor market. The effectiveness of its services has been aided by the almost complete confidence that it enjoys among employers, workers, and the general public, which is in marked contrast to the present status of the American public placement services.

NOTE.—In May of this year the Swedish government appointed a State Labor Market Commission composed of experts on social questions and representatives of the employers' and workers' organizations. The new agency will combine certain functions formerly divided between the Royal Social Board, which administered the labor exchanges, social insurance, and poor relief, and the Unemployment Commission, which handled unemployment relief. The new Labor Market Commission will take over the statistical work of the Social Board as well as the labor exchanges and will absorb the Unemployment Commission. In addition, the labor exchanges have been nationalized. The state will henceforth assume all the costs, and the provincial administrators will be chosen by Stockholm. These changes were designed to give greater effectiveness to efforts being made to handle unemployment caused by the war.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

FOREIGN EXPERIENCE WITH MIGRATION FOR SETTLEMENT¹

MARSHALL E. DIMOCK

NO ONE knows better than a social worker that most problems are solved by finding the right answer for the particular difficulty, by joining the two parts of a puzzle. One of the world's greatest social problems today is how new homes and homeless people may be brought together.

What are the countries of the world doing to provide refuge for millions of dispossessed men, women, and children? The problem grows constantly more serious and may be expected to increase in gravity for some time to come.

Are there areas in the world today which need the kind of workers and settlers which are available? Can nature and man be brought together through human contrivance and wise planning?

Migration is an intensely interesting phenomenon as well as one of the most vital of social problems. Man since his creation has been on the move. Whatever the motivation—need of food, greed for loot, search for more temperate climate, desire for room in which to expand, lure of better economic conditions, or escape from social, political, or religious oppression—his course through the centuries has been one of dispersion throughout the world.

After the first geographical discoveries North and South America became the mecca both for adventurers and for dissatisfied inhabitants of European countries. The United States soon forged ahead as the principal country of immigration in the New World. The record of immigrants who have come to this country, totaling nearly 40,000,000 individuals, is vividly described as having been, both in volume and in variety, "the most remarkable peaceful mass movement of population in history."²

¹ A paper read before the National Institute Conference of International Institutes, Councils, and Leagues for the Foreign-Born, Grand Rapids, Michigan, May 27, 1940.

² "Migration," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.), XV, 466.

We owe much of what we are and have to this great army of people who chose to make of this land a home. And we must not forget that they came on invitation. Less than a century ago a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States described our attitude in these words: "It is the cherished policy of the general Government to encourage and invite Christian foreigners of our own race to seek an asylum within our borders, and to convert these waste lands [then comprising many millions of acres] into productive farms, and thus add to the wealth, population, and power of the nation."³ We were glad to accept them, their culture, and their hard work.

But lands suitable for homesteading in this country no longer constitute a large part of the public domain. The open door to the United States, through which there poured for the ten years just before the first World War an average of more than a million immigrants annually, has been nearly closed. The rigidly selective tests of the Immigration Act of 1917 and the drastic numerical limitations of the Quota Act of 1924 upon the natives of the principal countries of emigration have seen to that. Under such conditions those concerned with movements of populations upon a large scale have sought areas which might offer the opportunity for a livelihood so eagerly searched for by masses of the world's unfortunates.

President Roosevelt delivered an address of welcome last fall to the officers of the Intergovernmental Committee which he had convened in the summer of 1938 in the determination to find some solution to the refugee situation. He stressed that in the wake of the present war the subject of world-migration will doubtless be of infinitely greater magnitude. When the war ends "there may be," he said, "not one million but ten million or twenty million men, women, and children belonging to many races and many religions, living in many countries and possibly on several continents, who will enter into the wide picture—the problem of the human refugee." He asked that the Committee start a serious and probably a fairly expansive effort to survey and study definitely and scientifically the geographical and economic phases of resettling several million people in new areas of the earth's surface. Questions of means of access,

³ Mr. Justice Grier, *Passenger Cases*, 7 Howard (48 U.S.) 461 (1849).

irrigation, soil, and health surveys, all present economic problems which need to be related to the economy of existing settled areas.

The International Labour Organization has rendered yeoman service in aid of the solution of large-scale migration problems. Among the published technical studies of the I.L.O. upon migration for settlement are those descriptive of conditions in Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay,⁴ Chile,⁵ Venezuela,⁶ Australia, New Zealand, and Canada,⁷ the Levant States,⁸ and the Belgian Congo.⁹ While all of them are intensely interesting, students of the problem in the United States are naturally drawn, because of geographical location, to those concerning the Western Hemisphere. Selection has been made of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and the Dominican Republic for brief comment.

THE SITUATION IN LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Migration for settlement attracted little attention in the Latin-American countries up to the beginning of the depression; but when the entry of large numbers of workers seeking paid employment was stopped, it was realized that rural districts could absorb immigrants in considerable numbers provided they remained permanently on the land. Settlers have been encouraged by Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay because of openings for intending farmers. While there is still undeveloped land in several areas of Brazil, there is hardly any in Uruguay, or even in Argentina, except in the northeastern corner or in some remote valley of the Patagonian Andes. Immigration and

⁴ Fernand Maurette and Enrique Siewers, "Immigration and Settlement in Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay," *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXXV, Nos. 2 and 3 (February and March, 1937); and P. Paula Lopes, "Land Settlement in Brazil," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (February, 1936).

⁵ "Land Settlement in Chile," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (September, 1936).

⁶ "The Organization of Immigration and Land Settlement in Venezuela," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 6, and Vol. XL, No. 1 (June and July, 1939).

⁷ D. Christie Tait, "Migration and Settlement in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (July, 1936).

⁸ "The Levant States under French Mandate and Problems of Emigration and Immigration," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 5 (May, 1936).

⁹ Jacques Legouis, "The Problem of European Settlement in the Belgian Congo," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4 (October, 1936).

settlement constitute not one single problem for the entire South American continent, but a series of problems varying from country to country and at times from region to region within the same country.

A distinction must be made between immigrants without means—much the more numerous—and those possessing some capital. As to the former, commercial settlement schemes can be considered only where the land is cheap and where there is a likelihood of the settlers paying for their holdings within a few years. Private capital cannot usually obtain a profit in settling persons without means. Success depends upon the assumption of part of the cost by either the immigration country or the emigration country, or both.

Immigrants with money to pay for their holding may succeed even with a capital much below that needed in Europe to provide a living as independent farmers. Migrants with any capital, however, are in the minority; and hence the only solution for the problem of immigration with a view to land settlement in South America is believed to lie in settlement organizations backed by official institutions of both emigration and immigration countries. Detailed reference is made later to the subject of the establishment of such organizations.

BRAZIL

Brazil, with an area nearly that of the United States, has but about one-third of its population. After fifty years of large-scale immigration, during which it has received more than 4,000,000 aliens, principally Europeans, it still has an enormous area of undeveloped land of great fertility in zones where Europeans can easily become acclimated.

It has an immigration quota law, however, similar to that in the United States, with an annual quota of not to exceed 2 per cent of persons of each nationality who had settled in Brazil during the preceding fifty years. Quotas are greatly increased under some circumstances in favor of agriculturists, who are allowed 80 per cent of the quotas.

A Council on Immigration and Settlement supervises the settlement of agricultural immigrants as well as the arrangements in that

field by both the various Brazilian states and the private-settlement companies.

Types of land settlement.—Settlements founded by the public authorities have been governed by the Regulations of 1911, which are very similar to those of the several Brazilian states. Until just prior to the depression, land for settlement was granted to agricultural immigrants by the government on especially favorable terms. Whether their traveling expenses from the countries of origin to their destination were borne by themselves or by the government, immigrants were received by government officials and lodged in an immigrants' hostel, allowed to import their possessions and agricultural tools and implements duty free, were then conveyed with their families to a holding of some twenty-five to fifty hectares, and, if needed, were furnished food for a period and free medical attendance and medicine for a year. The land was granted on unusually favorable terms. Seed, agricultural implements, and draft animals were sometimes provided free and sometimes on credit.

On taking up his holding the settler received a provisional deed of ownership, the final deed being granted when he discharged his debt, which might be from five to ten years later. When the settlement was founded its administration was placed in the hands of a director with wide powers assisted by a few officials, including a doctor, a teacher, and an agricultural technician.

Settlements of the Brazilian federal government and the individual states have been essentially pioneer ones, with considerable development in the two southerly states, but secondary in such of the others as are suited to European immigration. The growth of official settlements has nearly always suffered from lack of funds. The federal government's settlements are distributed among fourteen different states, but principally in Parana, where there are twelve of them. Settlement at the sole expense of the immigration country is practically at a standstill, and the openings it offers are almost negligible. In federal settlements the holdings are of twenty-five or ten hectares each and are usually sold on the basis of ten annual instalments beginning two years after the date of occupancy.

There is another type of pioneer settlement on the extensive areas of state-owned arable land through unauthorized occupation or

"squatting," title being acquired after ten successive years of occupation and production without objection. In addition private companies have purchased whole estates or sections and sold them in lots, usually on the instalment plan. Nothing is done in the way of technical guidance for preparation of the land to facilitate the settlers' progress. As these are transactions for profit, they often result in the inability of the settler to pay his debt. There are other commercial settlement companies, however, which provide the settlers with many forms of needed help. A number of big private enterprises recently undertaken prove that large-scale settlements are possible on land far distant from the zone already developed.

Brazil's experience shows the necessity for methodical organization such as has characterized the regulation of immigration. It must be comprehensive and cover every aspect of the problem so that the settlers will have at their disposal the necessary technical assistance and capital. The principal contribution of the immigration country is collaboration with responsible private bodies possessing funds in the granting of land free or at a very low price.

ARGENTINA

In Argentina land is fully developed in every part of the country capable of economic exploitation, and hence workers who can contribute only their labor face an almost insurmountable difficulty in acquiring ownership of land. If an emigrant is to become a landowner, therefore, he must possess a working capital of several thousand pesos.

Argentina heretofore has been the most important immigration country in South America, having received over 5,000,000 immigrants from 1891 to 1930. Brazil during the same period received only 3,500,000. In 1931, however, the unemployment crisis compelled the government to depart from its open-door policy of immigration, and since then it has admitted, with a few exceptions, only those who were sent for by a settlement undertaking or who held a contract for the lease or purchase of land.

While in Brazil settlement means primarily cultivation of land which has hitherto lain waste, in Argentina settlement consists mainly in the establishment of small and medium farmers on the large

private estates of the richest part of the country known for convenience as the "cereal zone." The many bills drafted since the beginning of the century for facilitating state action to promote small landownership have remained a dead letter. In 1919 an act was passed empowering the National Mortgage Bank to grant settlement loans, but even the effects of that act have been small.

Save under the National Mortgage Bank Act of 1919, subdivision of land has been left entirely to the initiative of private-settlement companies, the actual work of which, in spite of the large number of such companies, seems to have been insignificant. With few exceptions this so-called "settlement activity" consists of buying land, breaking it up, and reselling it on the instalment system, usually for six annual instalments, to farmers wishing to become landowners. It was a simple credit transaction and failed more often than it succeeded. Failure was to the advantage of the company, for it could then resell the land on the same terms to another applicant. Plots are said to have been sold in this way five or six times in succession.

Groups engaged regularly in settlement activities have almost disappeared from the central region. The Jewish Colonization Association continues to operate here, however, where it has done some remarkable work. But it can draw on a philanthropic fund on which no dividend need be paid. In the matter of private-settlement companies forced to earn interest on their capital, the settler has hardly a chance to succeed unless on taking possession he can pay a substantial sum on account. However, a private company in the northeast of Argentina not far from the Brazilian state of Parana succeeded after the last war in populating a whole new region and providing it with economic and social equipment. Adjoining a vast strip of country which this company obtained, there are other enormous areas with similar characteristics, remaining quite unpopulated for lack of bold initiative.

The idea of financing settlement by the issue of government bonds has been favored in most of the official Argentina schemes for settlement. Such a plan, however, involves almost superhuman sacrifices on the part of the settler. A mortgage of 80 per cent of his holding, with the possibility of a supplemental second mortgage to the full price of the holding, has been an illusion to him. Partial mortgage

loans, on the other hand, up to 50 per cent of the value of the holding are one of the most useful instruments for working a settlement scheme, but it assumes the ability of the holder to pay half the cost of the holding when he takes possession and that he possesses working capital.

URUGUAY

There is no lack of arable land in Uruguay, but the prosperity of the country rests almost exclusively on the exportation of the products of the stock-raising industry. For fifty years their value has represented over 80 per cent of the total value of exports. The reason for the small progress of agricultural production is that Uruguayan land, while excellent for stock raising, is not so good for crops. The land, although not bad in itself, has a yield lower than that of Argentina, the great neighboring exporting country. Crop raising in Uruguay has never been a serious rival of stock raising, and hence, unless there is a substantial rise in the prices of agricultural products, it is hardly to be expected that the export trade will lead to any considerable expansion of crop production. Under the circumstances, therefore, and being a comparatively small country, Uruguay does not seem capable in the near future of receiving a large number of immigrant settlers.

Official settlement activities are aimed primarily, as in Argentina, at helping tenant or share farmers to become owners of the land they work. Under official settlement measures loans have been made to purchase land through the Mortgage Bank, repayable by settlers under the Act of 1913 in thirty annual instalments. A Permanent Settlement Service, established in 1923, is administratively connected with the Mortgage Bank but financially autonomous. It has a capital of five million pesos, and official settlement activities have been carried on solely through it. Since 1929 the settler may obtain through the Settlement Service up to 100 per cent of the value of his holding.

The settler cannot start without a fairly substantial working capital, however, and the chances of success diminish with the amount of debt he has to contract. In Uruguay, as in Argentina, it would be possible to organize on much the same principles the immigration of farmers with a small amount of capital, even though not sufficient to

pay for the entire holding. The official Settlement Service and the Mortgage Bank of Uruguay are fully prepared to grant mortgage and any other loans that may prove necessary whenever a reliable institution submits a settlement scheme that offers a prospect of economic success.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

One of the most recent and far-reaching movements for placing immigrants upon the land is the Dominican Refugee Settlement Project.¹⁰ It is based upon a contract entered into on January 30, 1940, between the Dominican Republic and the Dominican Republic Settlement Association, a New York corporation. This document, unique in modern history, pledges a government and a group of citizens mutually to foster a humanitarian undertaking for the rehabilitation of stateless and homeless refugees. It envisages the gradual settlement in that country of 100,000 persons, Jewish or non-Jewish.

It is a product of the Evian Conference of the Intergovernmental Committee, convened in the summer of 1938 by President Roosevelt to find some solution to the refugee problem. Thirty-two nations participated in the meeting at which two concrete proposals were made to accept settlers on a large scale. One of these, advanced by the Philippine Islands, embraced 10,000 individuals, while the other, made by His Excellency Rafael Trujillo, then president of the Dominican Republic, extended to 100,000 persons.

A preliminary investigation by experts to determine the practicability of the Dominican plan was made possible through the donation of \$200,000 by the American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation, which acquired two hundred shares in the Association at \$1,000 per share. Thorough studies were made from October, 1939, to January, 1940, by specialists in agriculture, crops, soils, and forestry, under the guidance of Isaiah Bowman, president of Johns Hopkins University, as to economic and agricultural possibilities of the suggested region in the Dominican Republic.

The land offered by Generalissimo Trujillo as a gift and chosen for the settlement after extended examination and study of such problems as soil, climate, location, housing facilities, and water sup-

¹⁰ "Concerning Refugee Settlement in the Dominican Republic," Minutes of a Meeting at the Town Hall Club, February 15, 1940 (New York: Town Hall Club, 1940).

ply, is a 26,000-acre tract known as Sosua. It is located in the province of Puerto Plata, has a magnificent water front of eight miles on the Atlantic Ocean, with fine beach and harbor, and is described as of surpassing loveliness. It contains 5,000 acres of cultivated fields, vast areas of fine timber lands, good water and an adequate reserve supply, and buildings sufficient to house at least 200 or more people. The land was the personal property of Generalissimo Trujillo, representing an investment by him of \$100,000. He was urged and finally prevailed upon to accept Association stock in that amount. Near by are hundreds of thousands of additional acres of fertile, undeveloped land, largely government-owned, with room for many thousands of settlers.

The contract between the government and the Settlement Association may be called, by reason of its unusual terms, a charter of the settler's social and economic freedom. It is really a tripartite agreement which sets out the rights and obligations of the settlers, the Association, and the government. The settlers and their descendants are guaranteed full opportunity to live and work free of molestation, discrimination, or persecution, with freedom of religion and equality of civil, legal, and economic rights.

Selection and admission of settlers.—Settlers, both Jewish and non-Jewish, are given all possible opportunity and assistance to leave their former residences, enter and reside in the Dominican Republic, establish permanent homes, and acquire Dominican citizenship. The Association selects settlers "in accordance with their fitness and technical ability for agriculture, industry, manufacture, and trades." Their names, "with statements as to their place of origin, abilities, experience, and whatever other data may serve for their identification and evaluation of their special qualifications" are to be submitted to the Republic through the Secretary of State for the Interior and Police.

After prompt examination and acceptance the Department of Foreign Relations is required to instruct Dominican consular officers to provide the settlers free of all costs with proper documentation, including visas, for their journey to and admission into the Dominican Republic. The Association may recommend the free admission of persons "who may be specialists in their professions, trades, or

occupations, experts, artisans, and other persons acceptable to the Republic." Settlers under the agreement are exempt from all entry or similar taxes or charges and may bring in free of duty for their personal use furniture, personal effects, tools, equipment, and similar materials.

The Association, likewise, is free from the payment of property or other taxes on transactions which relate exclusively to the transportation and establishment of the settlers or in carrying out projects in their behalf. It is to supply all funds to cover the transportation expenses of settlers, their disembarkation, and their needs until they become self-supporting. The right is given the Association to acquire and dispose of property and to grant such right to the settlers, to lend money to them, and to deal with them in any manner deemed necessary or convenient in accordance with Dominican law.

Of unusual interest and importance is the authority conferred upon the corporation to equip, maintain, and dispose of places "for the reception, training, and education of the settlers," to construct for them adequate dormitories, school buildings, houses of worship, dwellings, experimental agricultural fields, and, in general, "to supervise and promote the physical, social, economic, and spiritual well-being of the settlers, as well as to organize, foster, and assist purchasing, selling, credit, production, and consumption cooperatives and other types of cooperatives" among them. Persons connected with the Association are not personally or individually responsible for its acts or for those of the settlers. Until the settlers acquire Dominican nationality the Association has the right to represent their personal and collective interest through petition to the executive power of the Republic.

The Republic accepts the responsibility for facilitating, except financially, the provision of adequate living quarters and other necessary buildings to be constructed as far as feasible with material existing in the Republic. It also agrees to co-operate in the employment of settlers in agricultural enterprises, construction of highways and other similar activities, and to take appropriate measures to aid in the selection and acquisition by the Association of suitable lands for agricultural purposes.

Settlers have already arrived and have established themselves in

the Sosua settlement. As can be seen, there are several significant features of the scheme—the contract, the incorporation, the careful planning by experts, the charter of social guaranties, the selection method, the community life—all are interesting in themselves. In this plan, perhaps more than any other, are the standards for other countries to follow.

All successful plans of resettlement are likely to depend in varying degree upon private-public co-operation. Neither alone is sufficient. For this reason and others our social workers must be relied upon to bear the principal part of the load, both as initiators and as administrators.

The world cannot afford to wait until the conclusion of the present dreadful holocaust before acting in this serious situation which confronts millions of hopeless and helpless human beings today. They are being made to bear a crushing load. The governments which are not directly involved in the war now raging owe it as a duty to humanity to bring all their technical knowledge and skill and material support to the solution of this tremendous world-problem.

The economic dislocations following the war may be expected to be more severe than those of the last decade. Not until the world's dispossessed millions are put on a self-sustaining basis may their creative energy and intelligence be reclaimed and utilized—in building up new purchasing power, in making and exchanging goods. It is not until then that we can expect substantial improvement; from the standpoint of intelligent self-interest, therefore, we should all be concerned with the settlement of homeless people.

Progress is being made, it is true. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, in his message of felicitation to President Rosenberg of the Dominican Republic Settlement Association, expressed the view that the success of the venture would "augur well for the gradual and progressive solution of this great humanitarian problem," and Myron C. Taylor, vice-chairman of the Intergovernmental Committee, declared that the project might be "the beginning of the eventual solution of the refugee problem of the present and the future." But the task is so great that it challenges all civilization.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE COURTS AND ADMINISTRATIVE "FAIR HEARINGS" IN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS¹

DAVID R. HUNTER

IN THE last five years social workers have acquired a new interest in methods of implementing that time-honored principle of democracy—the right of every man to his day in court. The Social Security Act,² in providing that every applicant denied old age assistance, aid to dependent children, or aid to the blind shall have the right to a fair hearing before the state agency, represents an attempt to accord to applicants and recipients of public assistance this right to have their opportunity for a fair presentation of their case before the state authority.

Analyzing the statutes of the different states and territories along with the administrative plans for old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind, and the manuals of procedure prepared by the state administrative authorities, certain procedures are found which indicate what have been considered desirable standards.

One of the most interesting aspects of the problem is the relationship between the state courts and the state agencies administering public assistance. The courts retain the ultimate mandatory authority; and unless a satisfactory relationship between administrators and the courts is evolved, there may be serious interference with a proper operation of the program.

The central question around which any discussion of the courts in relation to public assistance administration must revolve is the old problem of administrative efficiency versus the protection of individ-

¹ This article is a chapter from a study of the administration of the "Fair Hearing" sections of the public assistance titles of the federal Social Security Act.

² Social Security Act, Title I, sec. 2 (a) (4): "... A State plan for old age assistance must . . . provide for granting to any individual, whose claim for old age assistance is denied, an opportunity for a fair hearing before such State agency." Also Title IV, "Grants in Aid to the States for Aid to Dependent Children," sec. 402 (a) (4), and Title X, "Grants in Aid to the States for Aid to the Blind," sec. 1002 (a) (4).

ual rights. Perhaps it should not be stated in that way, as there seems an implied conflict and mutual exclusion which is all too evident in popular discussion of judicial review of administrative decisions. Too frequently the general assumption is made that uncontrolled administrative discretion in itself means an arbitrary disregard of individual rights. That may, of course, be the result, but must it be assumed that the universal right of appeal to the courts on all administrative decisions is the only effective safeguard? The record of the courts in the protection of individual rights is not unblemished.

Certain questions in this regard must be answered before an acceptable relationship can be developed. In the first place, are the courts, as at present constituted, adapted to deal with the system of administrative agencies which has developed within the structure of the traditional three departments of government—legislative, judicial, and executive? Is a new system of administrative law called for to deal with the new relationships between the three governmental jurisdictions? Or has a haphazard system actually “just grown” out of the necessity of meeting new situations which seem to elude restrictions and limitations of the old conception of the separation of powers?

Granted that there is the danger of arbitrary disregard of individual rights in uncontrolled administrative authority, is there a satisfactory substitute for the residual right of appeal to the courts which will just as effectively safeguard individual rights and at the same time not impede the efficient administration of the welfare program? Such a device is the provision in the public assistance programs of the Social Security Act that applicants who have been denied grants of assistance have the right to administrative “fair hearings” on their grievances.

After the purely administrative remedies in the fair-hearing procedure have been exhausted, there still remains the possibility of a final appeal from the state agency to the courts. Practice in this regard varies widely from state to state. The courts are still the ultimate authorities in the dispensation of justice, and the administrative agencies must satisfy constitutional guaranties and traditional restrictions if they are to remove undesirable obstacles to effective

administration and at the same time gain the confidence of the body politic that individual rights will be protected.

The attitude of the legislatures and the courts toward the welfare administrative agencies varies from state to state. Where there is a specific statutory right of appeal to the courts from the decision of the public assistance agency, the courts may make what is, in effect, a complete reinvestigation of the case and may thus assume the role of any or all of the personnel of the agency who have contributed toward the original decision.

In other states the statute itself may be silent on the matter, but the courts may have interpreted their function as guardians of the constitutional guaranties to mean that they may grant "*trials de novo*" to those dissatisfied with the determinations of administrative agencies.

Again the legislatures or the courts themselves may have limited the judicial review to questions of law, while accepting the recommendations and decisions of the public assistance agency as to the facts and merit of a particular claim. A few states have attempted definitely to prohibit or limit appeal to the courts from the decisions of the administrative agency, but, if subjected to a constitutional test, it is questionable how far the restriction would hold.

In the largest group of states the question is as yet unsettled with particular reference to public assistance agencies, as there have been no appeals to the courts in which this question is involved, or the decisions on certain kinds of appeals have avoided expressly designating the extent of judicial review permissible in that particular state.

It is important to examine recent judicial opinions to determine what attitudes the courts have taken with reference to administrative decisions made under the procedures developed to meet the fair-hearing requirements of the Social Security Act. In this article the cases discussed are those which are governed by the legislation passed since 1935, when the Social Security Act went into effect and the states began to set up public assistance programs which embodied the minimum requirements of the act. The selection has been further limited to those cases in which the court delimited the scope of its review, or in which, in the absence of a specific statement by

the court, its attitude or the extent of review which it allows itself is revealed. Some reference has been made to cases which came up under legislation passed prior to the Social Security Act but which have a direct bearing on the relationship between the courts and public welfare administrative agencies in the particular state in question.

In some of the programs in the states in which no pertinent cases were found the statute itself may contain express provisions concerning the extent to which the court may review the agencies' decisions.

Eight states,³ in the original statutes governing the public assistance programs, provided for appeal to the courts. In Connecticut, which has only old age assistance and aid to the blind programs under the Social Security Act, the applicant aggrieved by the decision of the State Board of Old Age Assistance or the Board of Education for the Blind, if made without a fair hearing, may apply to the Bureau of Public Welfare for a hearing. The decision made after a hearing shall supersede the one made without a hearing. If the appellant is still dissatisfied, he may, within thirty days, appeal to the superior court, but no appeal may be taken to the court without an administrative hearing first having been held.

Between April, 1936, and May, 1938, in Connecticut there were only seventeen administrative fair hearings in the old age assistance program, and none at all in aid to the blind. No appeals from decisions were taken to the court. In 1939, however, the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors handed down an important decision on the first appeal which was taken in an old age assistance case.⁴ The question involved was whether or not an undertaker who had performed funeral services for a deceased recipient of old age assistance and was entitled to the statutory allowance of \$100 for this service had the status of "applicant" and was entitled to a "fair hearing." The court of common pleas ordered the State Board of Old Age Assistance to hold a fair hearing, and the supreme court affirmed the decision on the ground that if, after the death of the recipient, the

³ Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, South Dakota, and Washington.

⁴ *State of Connecticut ex rel. J. Leo Redgate et al. v. F. C. Walcott*, 125 Conn. 160; 3 A. (2d) 852 (1939).

undertaker were the only challenger of arbitrary action, and if his appeal were disallowed, the intent of the legislature to forestall arbitrary action would be defeated. He was therefore entitled to a fair hearing. In defense of its action the court went on to say that, "while a court will not by mandamus direct an officer or board vested with discretion as to the manner in which it shall be exercised, where the board or officer refuses to act at all, mandamus is the proper remedy."

In Illinois the situation is somewhat different. The original statute included a clause to the effect that an aggrieved applicant might appeal from the decision of the State Department of Public Welfare to the circuit court of the county of his residence within forty days of the state department's action and without cost. A provision was included that if it was necessary to employ counsel, the fee could be no more than \$10.00.

In the *Borreson* case⁵ this section was held to be an unconstitutional delegation of executive power to the judiciary. This was a particularly interesting opinion in the light of the fact that usually alleged incursions of power have been made by the executive upon the judicial and legislative branches rather than, as in this case, by the judiciary upon the executive.

The court held that, to the extent that the act provided for a trial *de novo*, the execution of the Old Age Assistance Act was placed in charge of the circuit courts. In view of the legislature's manifest intent to grant broad powers of discretion to the Department of Public Welfare to execute the act, and the section authorizing the Department of Public Welfare to reconsider, change, and cancel grants at any time, these executive functions could not be transferred to the circuit courts, which the provision for a trial *de novo* would, in effect, do.

A strong dissent was registered, based on the argument that a trial *de novo* was no more a ministerial function than was mandamus. It was argued that the purpose of the legislature was to prevent old age assistance applicants from becoming a "political football." The language of the act, according to this argument, demonstrated that the general assembly would not have enacted the law without

⁵ *Borreson v. Dept. of Public Welfare*, 368 Ill. 425; 14 N.E. (2d) 485 (1938).

provision for appeal to the courts. Thus it should follow that the invalidity of the section in question rendered the entire act invalid. In any case, the point was made that mandamus would still lie, after the Department of Public Welfare had acted, to compel the correction of arbitrary action and that the exercise of the jurisdiction of the court held invalid in the majority opinion would be no more executive than the issuance of mandamus.

In some critical comments on the Borreson case⁶ it was argued that, because one department may constitutionally exercise certain powers, the exercise of the same powers by another branch of government is not necessarily invalid. In this case it was necessary to decide whether the function delegated involved the attempted exercise by the judiciary of power inherent in the executive or whether the function could be validly performed by a different branch.

The legislature may grant a conditional right and assign to the courts the duty of determining whether or not the condition is fulfilled. The function may be delegated to the judiciary only if the condition is one of fact. The question here, then, was whether or not the conditions set out in the statute called for a determination of fact or allowed the employment of discretion. The conclusion was reached that discretion was not necessary and that facts alone were involved. Consequently, the court should have found accordingly and rendered a decision the reverse of the one actually handed down.

On the whole, this argument reveals an unawareness of the nebulous nature of the "facts" involved, which actually do call for the exercise of a great amount of discretion and special ability. A similar case⁷ was later carried to the Illinois Supreme Court, which again followed the reasoning of the Borreson case.

The use of the mandamus, however, was upheld in another Illinois case⁸ in which application was made for a writ of mandamus in the Circuit Court of Sangamon County against the Department of Public Welfare to compel it to enrol the name of the applicant on the

⁶ Arno Denecke, "The Borreson Case," 27 *Illinois Bar Journal* 203 (February, 1939).

⁷ *Andrew B. Brown, Appellee v. State Department of Old Age Assistance, Appellant*, 369 Ill. 543 (1938).

⁸ *People ex rel. Mary S. Freeman, Appellee v. Department of Public Welfare et al., Appellants*, 368 Ill. 505 (1938).

old age assistance rolls. She had been disqualified because she had become an inmate of a private home for the aged, although she had paid nothing for her maintenance there. Since the Illinois law does not provide that such a condition shall disqualify old age assistance recipients,⁹ she was ordered reinstated by the court.

The supreme court held that mandamus would lie in this case to review the acts of administrative officers where it appeared they had acted arbitrarily and in abuse of the discretion vested in them. The action involved was considered to be arbitrary, resulting from an erroneous construction of the statute. This use of the mandamus followed the general rule.

The situation in Illinois, then, is that, while applicants for old age assistance may not appeal to the courts for complete review of administrative action, they may file for writs of mandamus to correct arbitrary or capricious action, or abuse of discretionary power.

In Iowa old age assistance applicants, if dissatisfied with the decision of the state agency may appeal to the district court of the county of their residence within thirty days of the controverted action. Upon service of notice of the suit, the State Board of Social Welfare furnishes the applicant with all papers, a transcript of previous hearings on the case, and a copy of its decision. The district court acts as an appellate court, determining whether or not the state board has committed fraud or has abused its discretion. It may not review the facts or the merit of the application.

In Michigan the statute provides that the applicant may appeal from the decision of the State Department of Social Welfare to the circuit court of the county of residence. The courts here may determine only the points of law involved, reviewing the facts only for the purpose of deciding whether or not there has been an abuse of discretion on the part of the director of the department.

In Minnesota, if the decision of the state agency does not satisfy the county unit or the recipient, either may, within thirty days, appeal to the district court of the county of the appellant's residence. A copy of this appeal is sent to the state office and to the adverse party. The appeal may be brought on for hearing by ten days'

⁹ *Illinois Revised Statutes, 1937*, p. 317.

notice, stating the time and place. The state agency must, on demand, furnish to the appellant a summary of the issues involved, copies of all pertinent papers and of its decision. The court is then summarily, on ten days' notice, to try the case on the record of the state agency, and the issue must be limited to the question whether or not the state order was *fraudulent, arbitrary, or unreasonable*. No new or additional evidence may be taken on the appeal or introduced in court unless such new evidence in the opinion of the court is necessary for equitable disposition of the case. If the court finds that the order has been fraudulent, arbitrary, or unreasonable, it must declare it null and void and order the state agency to take further action not inconsistent with the court's determination. Here, as in Missouri, it is stipulated that assistance shall be continued while the appeal is pending.

The county administrative unit may question the validity of any rule or regulation of the state department in the district court of that county. The court is authorized to determine the validity of the rule or regulation by original proceedings. From this judicial determination either the state agency or the county unit may appeal to the state supreme court.

This is a situation that potentially may effectively block the administrative process. If a recalcitrant county agency under the supervision of the state agency should undertake to challenge the regulations of that agency, it might vitiate all supervisory effort. Although this has not happened in the extreme, one district court decision had somewhat this effect. The attorney-general,¹⁰ in answer to a query of the state department as to the effect of the decision of the court, analyzed it as follows:

The District Court seems to have held that the State Agency is limited in its review of any case to a consideration of the facts existing at the time of the hearing and determination of the county authority. If the State Agency is bound by this opinion it will become merely a reviewing agency and will not have supervisory powers or administrative powers required under the Social Security Act.

The fair hearing procedure is an administrative one to assure adequate consideration of individuals' rights and needs, rather than a judicial one for the purpose of passing on the legality of county action. It must, to fulfill its pur-

¹⁰ *Minnesota Attorney General's Opinions*, 1938, No. 321.

pose, have the power to make additional investigation and take action at any time with respect to current circumstances.

The Minnesota court decision applies to procedural limitations of a purely judicial nature in such a manner as to nullify the advantages of more flexible administrative procedure which it is the apparent purpose of the legislature to procure.

The situation in Missouri, where a number of cases have been appealed to the courts, has changed somewhat between 1937 and 1939. Under the statute passed in 1939 governing old age assistance and aid to dependent children (there is no social security aid to the blind program) the applicant may appeal from the decision of the state administrative agency to the circuit court within ninety days of the agency action. The State Social Security Commission will furnish forms for this appeal. The entire record is then certified to the circuit court, and the case is docketed just as other civil cases except that neither party is required to give bond or to pay a docket fee. The decision of the court is based on the record of the proceedings before the state commission. The only function of the circuit court is to decide whether or not a *fair hearing* has been granted. If it has not, or if the decision of the administrator was arbitrary and unreasonable, the court is to remand the case to the agency for redetermination. Appeal may be had by either party from the decision of the circuit court. While the appeal is pending, the applicant is protected by the fact that he may not then be removed from the rolls. The presumptions are in his favor until proof shows otherwise.

The legislation of 1937 and that of 1939 differ in that the statute of 1937 granted the courts the right of reviewing the determinations of the administrative agency *de novo*. The trial *de novo* was to be held solely on the question of whether or not the applicant was entitled to benefits and not as to the amount thereof. Under the earlier provisions there were many appeals to the courts, owing to the nature of the review permitted. The amendment of 1939 leaves a greater discretion with the administrative agency and relieves the courts of this unnecessary burden.

The South Dakota statute follows judicial precedent in stipulating that no one may bring proceedings in any court to compel the State Department of Social Security to grant assistance until he has

exhausted his remedies under the statute which provides for appeals from the county or district offices to the state department. After the exhaustion of this remedy, however, appeals may be taken to the circuit court of the county of the appellant's residence.

Rejections of applications by the state department may be reversed if the order was procured by fraud or if the facts found by the state department do not support the order. If the court grants assistance, the amount is to be determined by the state department. Either of the parties may appeal further to the supreme court in the usual way.

Here, again, the statute has limited the review of the court to the legal questions involved, leaving the determination of the facts and the amount of assistance to the administrative agency.

No cases were found which had been carried to the supreme court under this section.

In the state of Washington, applicants for public assistance may appeal from the decisions of the director of the Division of Public Assistance to the superior court of the county of legal residence within thirty days of the director's action.

A number of cases have been taken to the supreme court in the state of Washington so that the extent of judicial review permissible in that state is fairly clear.

In a presocial security case,¹¹ in which an applicant who had been granted assistance but had received no funds brought suit to compel the county board to raise funds to satisfy his claim, the court held that the board was under obligation to raise funds from some source, once it had granted the validity of a claim to assistance. The board, however, was conceded to have full discretion to decide whether or not the claim was valid. The discretion could be controlled by mandamus only in so far as there was arbitrary or capricious action, or failure to act at all.

Another opinion in 1935¹² controlled by the McDonald case, ordered the county commissioners to hold hearings on the claims of the petitioners, but it did not order the disposition of the claims or seek to control the discretion of the commissioners.

¹¹ *State ex rel. McDonald v. Stevenson*, 176 Wash. 355; 29 P. (2d) 400 (1934).

¹² *State of Washington ex rel. Frost v. Eaton*, 182 Wash. 7; 44 P. (2d) 803 (1935).

Again the principle was reiterated in a similar case.¹³ In the words of the court, "the discretion of the County Board of Commissioners in regard to giving relief under the statutes providing for the blind will not be interfered with unless the Board acts arbitrarily or capriciously."

Several cases brought under social security legislation have followed these earlier decisions. In one case, which dealt in part with administrative discretion,¹⁴ the court held that the discretion placed in the county commission by the statute was a constitutional delegation. In this particular case the commission had denied an application for a blind pension without a hearing. The court directed this discretion only in so far as it was arbitrary and capricious.

Again, in 1938, the courts followed the general rule with regard to the use of the writ of mandamus, holding that it will not lie to control discretionary power of an administrative officer in the absence of capricious or arbitrary action.¹⁵ In this case it was held that the statute providing that expenditures from relief funds could be made only on allotments by the governor was not an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power, as the legislature must delegate to executive officers the power to expend state funds. That particular expenditure was an executive function vested with discretion. The case in question was brought by a taxpayer to compel the director to expend moneys immediately which he was attempting to spread over a longer period of time. The original proceedings were initiated in the superior court to compel action by the director by a writ of mandamus. In answer to this, the supreme court decided that it could not control the discretion of the director by mandamus.

Another case¹⁶ hinged on the requirement that administrative remedies must be exhausted prior to any appeal to the courts. Here the pension applicant appealed from the decision of the county administrator to the county commission and from there directly to the

¹³ *Smith v. Spokane County et al.*, 183 Wash. 477; 48 P. (2d) 918 (1935).

¹⁴ *State of Washington ex rel. Schmidt v. Sullivan*, 190 Wash. 600; 69 P. (2d) 828 (1937).

¹⁵ *State of Washington ex rel. Boyle v. Ernst, Director*, 195 Wash. 214; 78 P. (2d) 526 (1938).

¹⁶ *McAvoy v. Ernst*, 196 Wash. 416; 83 P. (2d) 245 (1938).

Superior Court of King County. The supreme court held, on further appeal, that the superior court should not have heard the case until an appeal for a fair hearing had first been made to the director of the department, as required by statute.

A confusing situation was brought out in the Washington courts by the Shomaker case.¹⁷ Shomaker had been granted old age assistance, which had never been paid. He sued in the Superior Court of King County to compel payment. It was first decided that the suit involved the state and its funds, and, therefore, should have been brought in Thurston County, in which the state capitol is located. When the case finally reached the state supreme court it was determined that Shomaker was applying for assistance under an ineffective statute, one which had been superseded by subsequent legislation, and he could not, therefore, get relief through the court. The two statutes were found to be in conflict, and the later one, to which there was attached an emergency clause giving it immediate effect, was given precedence over the earlier. Thus in this case, the suit for a writ of mandamus was denied.

The well-known Conant case,¹⁸ in which the court held that there was no legal responsibility of one relative to support another, was taken into the courts under the appeal provisions of the Washington law.

In summary, the attitude of the courts toward the decisions made by welfare administrative authorities has not changed since the introduction of legislation inspired by the federal Social Security Act. Petitions for writs of mandamus against the welfare authorities will be accepted, but they will be issued only if it is apparent that the action of the administration has been capricious, arbitrary, or unsupported by adequate evidence, or if there has been a failure to act in the face of a clear statutory duty. Beyond this, the courts will not try to control the discretion of the administrators.

Express statutory provision for appeal to the courts from the administrative decisions of public welfare departments is made only in the eight states discussed above: Connecticut, Illinois (nullified by

¹⁷ *State of Washington ex rel. Shomaker v. Superior Court for King County*, 193 Wash. 465; 76 P. (2d) 306 (1938).

¹⁸ See this *Review*, XIII (March, 1939), 105.

judicial decision), Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, South Dakota, and Washington.

In two other states, New Jersey and West Virginia, an appeal is implied, although express provision for such an appeal does not appear in the statutes.

In its aid to the blind legislation, New Jersey includes a provision to the effect that "nothing herein shall be construed to affect the right of any applicant to a writ of certiorari." The writ of certiorari is used to carry the record from one court to a higher one and may be used for the same purpose to transfer the record of hearing from the administrative agency to the court.

The West Virginia statute provides that the county council may go to the circuit court to enforce support of applicants by relatives. For this purpose there may be a jury trial. The authority of the court may be used also in the administrative-hearing process: "In all investigations authorized by Chapter 9, testimony and evidence may be enforced present by Circuit Court order."

Here, although there is no specific provision for judicial appeal, it is implied, as interpreted in an earlier presocial security case under the state Mother's Pension Act.¹⁹ The court held that although there was no appeal provided for in the statute, yet such an appeal was implied.

Several states have attempted to limit judicial appeal, although the courts cannot be completely closed for all types of remedies against arbitrary administrative action.

Arkansas provides that "no action shall be brought in any court having as its object the changing of a ruling of said department [State Department of Public Welfare] on the *merits* of any application." The sum total of this restriction is to reserve to the administrative agency the sole right of determining the facts and merit of any application. The courts are still left open for suits or writs of mandamus to compel action or reconsideration by the state agency.

In Texas the statute contains a statement to the effect that there shall be no right of appeal from the order of the Texas Old Age Assistance Commission. The fact that this does not block all legal

¹⁹ *Densmore v. County Court*, 106 W.Va. 317 (1928).

remedies is reflected in a judicial opinion of 1937.²⁰ A suit was brought by the state of Texas to forfeit the charter of a children's agency because a routine investigation had not been made by the representative of the secretary of state prior to the renewal of the agency's license. One of the rules emphasized by the court in its decision was that the "legislature cannot delegate to an administrative board an arbitrary, uncontrolled, unreviewable discretion."

The statute of Virginia, like that of Texas, states that the decision of the state department shall be final and binding on the county and shall not be subject to further review or appeal. There have been no cases brought under this law in Virginia so the extent of judicial review has not been concretely determined, although it is probable that the courts would treat this section in the same way the Texas court did the similar provision in that state.

With the exception of the ten states already discussed, all the other statutes are silent on the matter of judicial appeal. However, appeals have been carried to the courts in a number of states so that the matter has been judicially determined in the absence of statutory specifications.

A recent decision of the Supreme Court of Colorado clarified the situation in that state.²¹ Here the court said that there always resided in the court general powers of a corrective character, especially a power to compel hearings and to compel an administrative agency to exercise its discretion, but not in any particular manner. In this case, the court held that the state agency had arbitrarily and capriciously denied the elemental rights of the complainant to a fair hearing of the issue as to his blindness upon the facts as recited in the legal pleading. The state department had disregarded adequate proof of the applicant's blindness, and the court considered this capricious action.

Beyond ordering a fair hearing by the state department, the court would not go. This it considered to be the limit of its powers. However, in spite of the fact that there was no statutory right of review granted and the fact that court recognized the limitations on its

²⁰ *State of Texas v. Society for Friendless Children*, 130 Texas 533; 102 S.W. (2d) 318 (1937).

²¹ *Edmond L. Viles v. Colorado Board of Public Welfare*, 94 P. (2d) 713 (1939).

power of review, it did accept the restricted power of general review where it is contended that legal rights have been abridged by administrative action or that a body vested with discretion has refused to exercise it.

Although Montana is without express provision for review by the courts, there have been several judicial appeals which have clarified the situation with regard to appeals to the courts in that state. In the case of *Dean v. Brandjord*²² the court held that it was not within the province of the supreme court to interfere with the discretionary actions of the State Board of Public Welfare where it appeared that the board was acting within the scope of its authority. This follows the general rule as noted in the foregoing discussion of practice in other states.

In another Montana case²³ the court held similarly that it could not compel the State Department of Public Welfare to make a definite grant in advance of its administrative action.

In contradiction to decisions in Oklahoma and various other states the Montana Supreme Court was of the opinion that, even where an appeal is provided for by law to an administrative body from the ruling of an inferior administrative body, an appeal to the higher authority is not always a condition precedent to resort to the courts for relief. Although in the Oklahoma case²⁴ there had been no actual hearing before the higher authority, yet the court held that the applicant had "exhausted his administrative remedies." Here it would seem that the exhaustion of all administrative remedies is not a precedent to appeal to the courts.²⁵

The facts in this particular case were that the applicant had been granted assistance but had not been paid. The court decided that in this case an appeal to the state board was not necessary before court relief could be had.

North Dakota is another state which has no specific provision for appeal to the courts but has had cases appealed anyway. One of the

²² *State of Montana ex rel. Dean v. Brandjord*, 108 Mont. 447 (1939).

²³ *State of Montana ex rel. Silver Bow County et al., v. Brandjord*, 107 Mont. 231 (1938).

²⁴ See *Public Welfare Commission v. State ex rel. Thompson*, below, note 28.

²⁵ *State of Montana ex rel. Wilson v. Weir et al.*, 106 Mont. 526 (1938).

leading cases²⁶ was that in which George and Margaretha Eckroth petitioned the District Court of Morton County for a mandamus against the State Public Welfare Board to compel it to pay them an assistance grant of not less than \$30 per month. The court accepted the suit but refused to order the State Public Welfare Board to make the payment because it was of the opinion that mandatory relief could not be granted unless a clear legal right to it could be shown.

Again, in Ohio, the writ of mandamus has been used to review the action of the public assistance administrative agencies. In the case of *Helpmeyer v. Shroyer*²⁷ the court of common pleas granted a writ of mandamus against the Division of Aid for the Aged to compel it to reinstate Mr. and Mrs. Helpmeyer on the assistance rolls. On appeal to the supreme court the decision was reversed, however, and the mandamus withdrawn. This action supported that of the Division of Aid to the Aged.

A leading Oklahoma case²⁸ dealt with the extent to which the court might review decisions of the Public Welfare Commission. This case was an appeal from an order of the District Court of Pawnee County in a mandamus proceeding commanding the Oklahoma Public Welfare Commission to reinstate George Thompson to the old age assistance rolls. The decision of the district court was affirmed in part and reversed in part by the supreme court. The action of the commission was considered to be arbitrary, and the petitioner was to be restored to the rolls. The court said, following the general rule with regard to mandamus:

Ordinarily mandamus will not lie to compel the performance of the duty of an officer purely ministerial, but in which he exercises judgment and discretion, yet the writ may issue to correct an abuse of discretion, or to compel action where the officer is vested with judgment and discretion, but his action or refusal to act is arbitrary.

In a case where there is no disclosure of facts to call for the exercise of judgment and discretion, mandamus will lie to compel the performance of a duty clearly imposed by law under the agreed or uncontroverted facts.

²⁶ *State of North Dakota ex rel. Eckroth v. Borge*, 283 N.W. 521 (1939).

²⁷ 132 Ohio State 101; 23 Ohio Abs. 420 (1936).

²⁸ *Oklahoma Public Welfare Commission v. State of Oklahoma ex rel. George M. Thompson*, No. 29, 183, Supreme Court of Oklahoma, 1939 (not yet officially reported).

Thompson had not had a fair hearing before the state administration when he appealed to the court. The state, in its brief, contended that the court had no jurisdiction because he had not exhausted his administrative remedies. The court, however, held that he had tried to get a fair hearing but had been refused:

Ordinarily resort may not be had to the courts for mandatory relief until the applicant has exhausted administrative remedies, yet where it clearly appears that further pursuit of administrative relief would be vain and useless, the aid of a court of equity may be invoked.

These illustrations of the attitude of the courts toward reviewing decisions of public assistance administrative agencies reveal certain tendencies.

First, the courts are reluctant to assume the function of hearing appeals from administrative decisions *de novo*. Even where there is statutory provision for judicial review, such review is usually limited to a determination of the legal questions involved or whether or not the administrative agency has exceeded its authority or acted capriciously.

Second, where there is no express statutory provision for judicial review, the courts are open for suits of mandamus against the administrative agencies (1) to compel them to act where they have failed to do so and a clear duty exists under the statute, and (2) to compel them to rescind action which has been arbitrary, capricious, or not based on substantial evidence, but at the same time not directing the exercise of legitimate discretion.

Much has been written on the general subject of judicial review of administrative decisions. With particular reference to the public welfare field, however, the literature is not extensive. In brief, the polemics revolve around the question of the extent to which administrative agencies should be free from traditional judicial control in carrying legislation into effect. On the one hand, a complex program with supposedly generally acceptable social objectives is set up to be administered by specialized personnel. In order to effectuate the aims of the program, the administration must be reasonably free to use its sound and legitimate discretion. It is the fear that the use of this discretion will not always be "sound and legitimate" which prompts some to advocate an extensive control of administration by

the courts. It is probable that a residual power of limited review of administrative decisions should rest with the courts, as there is no guaranty that administrators will always act in the best interests of the people and with due regard for individual rights. However, it is also desirable that this review should be limited, probably, to a consideration of whether or not the administrator has exceeded his authority. In any case, judicial review of any kind tends to slow the processes of administration and supersede an authority which should as far as possible be final. The minimizing of the threat of judicial review, if it may be so called, depends almost entirely on the emphasis given to two important aspects of the administrative organization. First, there is the development of adequate qualified personnel, and, second, the development of fair-hearing procedures within the administration which will satisfactorily safeguard the rights of individual applicants.

Judge Rosenberry of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, an accepted authority in the field of administrative law, has said:

It is quite apparent that the future development of administrative law . . . is dependent very largely upon the personnel which wields the power in the beginning. . . . The major positions often become political plums . . . without regard to the previous training or fitness of the incumbent. . . . Back of the administrative agent who may himself to some extent be subject to the changing political fortunes of contending groups stands a highly trained, highly efficient, group of experts protected by the civil service law.²⁹

This statement is just as true of public welfare agencies as any other.

Professor Leonard White singles out the crux of the matter when he says: "[What is needed is] a reconciliation between the technical expertness of administrators and the judicial protection of private rights for which the court exists."³⁰ The emphasis is now too much on the protection of rights. More attention should be given to the effective administration of the public assistance program.

²⁹ Marvin B. Rosenberry, "Administrative Law and the Constitution," *American Political Science Review*, XXIII (1929), 45.

³⁰ *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* (rev. ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1939), p. 589.

The principal considerations which lead to the conclusion that judicial review should be minimized are these:

1. The issues brought before the court in appeals from agencies administering public assistance involve facts of a nature with which courts are not equipped to deal. The administrative agency, if staffed with qualified people, is better fitted for this.

2. Some issues may involve judgment in areas where standards are not yet fixed. These issues should be dealt with with an eye to the social consequences. It is questionable whether judicial logic alone is sufficient to the task.

3. The evaluation of the evidence submitted in such appeals is not especially facilitated by legal training. This particular point is disputed by an author in a legal periodical³¹ who contends that the marshaling of evidence, cross-examining of witnesses, and the ferretting-out of the true facts does require legal training.

4. One of the functions of the fair hearing is the application and interpretation of new policy by the administrative agency. It is probably better suited for this service than a judicial body.

An earlier authority in administrative law, Frank J. Goodnow, has recognized the value of the application of special techniques and abilities, and specially of qualified personnel, to the problems handled by administrative agencies generally. He says:

What needs emphasis is no longer the inherent rights of the individual (which is foremost in the minds of the judicial courts), but the importance of administrative efficiency. For upon administrative efficiency depends the effectiveness of that social control without which healthy development in existing conditions is impossible.³²

The whole relationship between the judiciary and administration is summed up in a masterly statement by Roscoe Pound:

Administration achieves public security by preventive measures . . . it is governed by ends instead of rules . . . is personal as contrasted with impersonal or law-regulated action. Well operated it is more efficient than law. Law operates by redress and punishment rather than by prevention; it does

³¹ Ben Ely, "Needed Reforms in Connection with Administrative Tribunals," *Missouri Bar Journal*, IX, 114.

³² Cited in White, *op. cit.*, p. 594.

not supervise action. It leaves the individual free to act but imposes penalties for infractions of the law. It is impersonal and safeguards against ignorance, caprice, or corruption of magistrates (or administrators), but it is not quick enough, or automatic enough to meet the requirements of a complex social organization.³³

It is, then, the responsibility of those who administer public assistance and other public welfare programs to develop procedures which will obviate the necessity for close supervision by the courts. In so far as fair-hearing proceedings satisfactorily guarantee that individual rights will be protected, the tendency of the courts to utilize in practice whatever authority over administration which they may retain will decrease. As Dean Pound has said, the processes appealed to in the courts are essentially corrective; it should be possible for administrative agencies to maintain standards of operation which effectuate the aims of social legislation and at the same time carefully respect the rights of each individual with whom they come in contact, so that there will be no need for appeal to the corrective and restraining measures of the courts. The development of sound fair-hearing procedures is one method of achieving this end.

AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION

³³ Roscoe Pound, "Difficulties in the Administration of Punitive Justice," *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association*, IV (1907), 232-33.

PUBLIC MEDICAL SERVICE AS IT IS TODAY AT STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS¹

GERTRUDE STURGES, M.D.

ORGANIZATION FOR ADMINISTRATION

AS TIME does not permit discussion of all the many aspects of Public Medical Service, the subject of "Organization for Administration" has been selected because many public officials appear to have less understanding of the problems in this area than of hospital or physicians' service. Without a well-organized administrative setup, we cannot hope to develop satisfactory and economical technical services—and, in fact, it may be unwise to attempt to reorganize at the periphery when the central structure is chaotic.

The most fundamental and urgent need of public medical service today is to improve our administrative organization (where necessary) to provide for (1) co-ordination of the medical services now administered by different public agencies, (2) advice and co-operation from voluntary agencies and the medical professions, and (3) technical administration and supervision of medical programs.

The American Public Welfare Association has published² suggestions for the improvement of administrative organization as well as analyses of the problems. The following paper is based on these publications, although some of the suggestions about medical advisory committees and executives are new.

Co-operation in administration.—Division, overlapping, and duplication of governmental authority for similar functions comprise problem No. 1. The present division of responsibility is somewhat as

¹ A paper read at the National Conference of Social Work at Grand Rapids, 1940.

² "Panel Discussion, Public Medical Care," Report No. VI (1937; 47 pages, mimeo.); "Report of the Committee on Medical Care, American Public Welfare Association, 1938" (48 pages, mimeo.); Committee on Medical Care, "Organization and Administration of Tax-supported Medical Care" (1939; 8 pages, mimeo.). See also "Medical Care—But How?" *Survey Midmonthly*, LXXIV (May, 1938), 162-65.

follows: Usually two (or frequently many more) public agencies at each level are responsible for the administration of fractions of the medical program; for example,

In one eastern state, twelve independent state agencies are involved in the administration of public medical service. Five of these agencies make payments to nongovernmental hospitals, incidentally, at different rates.

In a central state, three different departments operate hospitals; while a fourth and fifth are responsible for payment to voluntary hospitals for the care of special categories of disease; and two additional authorities in each county, acting independently of any state authority, make payments to voluntary hospitals. The director of the Welfare Department in this state was concerned over the duplication of governmental machinery for medical care and the difficulties arising from overlapping or poorly defined fields of responsibility. The executive of one of the other state departments involved reported that overlapping jurisdiction with other state agencies was a considerable problem, "especially with changing administration when new officials have to be taught the workings, which are really terribly complicated."

One more or less typical local setup illustrates the diffusion of responsibility at the local level:

The City Department of Welfare

operates: A general hospital and out-patient department; and salaried physicians' service for home and office care
pays for: service in voluntary hospitals; physicians' home and office calls under a panel system (free choice); bedside nursing; and dental panel service

The Department of Health

operates: tuberculosis, contagious disease, and maternity hospitals; and venereal disease, child welfare and tuberculosis clinics

The County Commissioners operate an infirmary for the care of the chronic sick

Two other county departments have responsibility for payment for hospitalization and physicians' service for certain categories of persons.

Division of authority is sometimes functional: as between preventive and curative services or between the administration of hospitals and of physicians' service in the home. Responsibility is sometimes divided according to medical category, different agencies being responsible for different diseases or conditions—for example, tuberculosis, mental disease, or crippled children. Frequently, different agencies are responsible for the medical care of different economic

or other groups, such as employable and unemployable, or general relief clients and the several social security categories. (There are many permutations and combinations of the above types of distribution of authority.)

Such a scattering of administrative responsibility tends to result in

Confusion, inefficiency, and waste

Duplication, or more frequently, gaps in service

Delay in the patient's securing necessary care, and

Lack of continuity of the patient's care

In many localities effective machinery has not yet been developed for co-ordinating the medical programs of the several governmental agencies involved; for example, in two states recently visited, neither the state health officer nor the welfare administrator even knew of the other's medical program.

Although it is recognized that in many jurisdictions it is impracticable, at the present time, to consolidate the administration of all tax-supported preventive and curative medical service in a single governmental department, we believe that it is essential that co-ordination and integration of the medical care administered by different departments be obtained by voluntary co-operation. We suggest four methods, of which I will read only two. (These suggestions are not visionary. All the proposed plans are already in operation in one or more localities and are described in a pamphlet on "Co-operation in Administration of Tax-supported Medical Care," which the American Public Welfare Association is preparing for publication.)

The development of a cooperative relationship whereby the governmental departments charged by law with providing medical care obtain service or technical supervision through the department of health. [Illustrated by the states of North Dakota and Washington.] [This suggestion, of course, does not apply in localities where the department of health already administers all public medical service.]

The organization of representatives of the governmental agencies concerned with medical care and welfare into an interdepartmental committee, for joint planning of official programs and conference with nongovernmental agencies and the medical professions. [Illustrated by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities.]

The Wagner Bill (S. 1620, proposing a national health program) includes a clause to provide for co-operation and, when necessary, for working agreements between the state agencies concerned.

The administrator of the Federal Security Agency said in a recent address at the annual meeting of the National Health Council that it was his firm belief that

we must plan a long-range program for the health of all the American people. Not a program for one favored disease or one favored group of the population, but a comprehensive *coordinated* effort for the maximum possible control of illness of all types and for the benefit of people of all ages and all incomes. . . . *One important means of reaching this objective is the unification and coordination of health agencies at the Federal, State and local levels.*³

Medical advisory committees.—My views on medical advisory committees are already well known to many of you. I am convinced that such committees are essential to secure not only technical advice but co-operation from the voluntary agencies and medical professions. Moreover, I am convinced that, if a program is to be well balanced, all points of view must be represented in the advisory group.

Welfare administrators seem to have a tendency to secure technical advice, if any, from only organized medicine (that is, state and county medical societies). Less frequently, organized dentistry and pharmacy are consulted. Sometimes health officers are included. But representatives of voluntary hospitals, visiting-nursing associations, and medical social work are usually notable by their absence.

For example, in one Western state where a very large proportion [around 75 per cent] of medical expenditures are for hospital care, no representative of the State Hospital Association is included in the Technical Advisory Committee.

In one Eastern county with a heavy medical program, the welfare administrator deals directly with the county medical society without any other advice. It so happens that the health officer in that county is the type of man who would be very helpful in advising on problems of medical care.

On the other hand, the recently appointed Committee on Medical Care of the Maryland State Planning Commission is composed of all the elements concerned: public health and welfare administration, medical teaching and practice, hospital administration, dentistry, public health nursing, pharmacy, medical social work, the public to be served (through representatives of parent-teachers associations, labor and farm groups) and the taxpayer, through business men.

³ Italics ours.

In the year 1931, when I served for Harry Hopkins in developing the first panel service under the F.E.R.A. in New York City, I fought with my chief to have an advisory committee, although he frankly expressed his opinion that advisory committees were a nuisance. We revamped the Health Section of the Welfare Council to serve this purpose, adding representatives of the professional groups not already members; and the resulting committee did able, yeoman work in planning the program. The fact that representatives of the different medical professions were sitting around a table together seemed to make them forget (or to submerge) their individual interests and plan for the good of the service as a whole rather than recommend what was best for their own professions. There was no representative of dentistry on the committee, and no dental program was included in the original plan. This indicates the tendency to a lopsided program, where all elements are not included in the advisory committee.

Experience and observation have led me to believe that

as has just been stated, all the groups concerned should be represented.

Local Health Councils or Health Sections of Councils of Social Agencies may well serve as medical advisory committees. If these are not already sufficiently representative, appropriate members may be added.

It is desirable to include outstanding leaders of the medical professions, such as members of the faculty of medical schools or leading specialists, who have broad community vision, as well as representatives of the organized professions.

Such active technical committees as are required for special phases of the program, for example, physicians', dentists', or nursing service, should be *subcommittees*; the appropriate professional person on the "over-all" committee should be chairman of each subcommittee. In this way you may have only one physician, dentist and public health nurse on the general committee, but as many as required on the special technical advisory groups.

The function of advisory committees is to advise on policies, procedures and the problems of administration (not to administer programs); and the public agency should retain the authority to accept or reject their proposals.

Frequently, medical advisory committees are just "window dressing," because administrators do not know how to use them. They do not function unless they have someone competent in medical care to analyze and present problems to them and carry out their suggestions. [I know of a state where a medical advisory committee which was appointed two years ago has never even met.]

Medical advisory committees should meet frequently during the period when a program is being developed or reorganized to:

Review existing resources and needs.

Advise on plans for all phases of the service; and after a program is under way, less frequent, but regular meetings will be necessary to consider:

Special problems presented by the technical administrator, subcommittees or representatives of the community.

Periodical reports of service.

The functions of technical subcommittees (physicians, hospital, and so forth) may include, for their special fields

Formulation of professional policies and procedures; and of qualifications for practitioners or agencies to provide service.

Consideration of special problems concerning the quality, cost, and so forth of the services.

All important recommendations of subcommittees, especially those which affect policy, should be considered (and rejected or approved) by the "over-all" medical committee. The setup of the technical committees of the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities illustrates this point. The Interdepartmental Committee reviews all reports of the technical committees. [I could cite local situations where there is difficulty, owing to the fact that technical committees feel free to act independently.]

Technical administration.—Experience and observation have convinced me that all medical programs, however limited, should be directed by persons who have technical knowledge of medical care. Although I have seen plenty of trouble in localities where there is technical administration, without competent medical direction, serious difficulty seems naturally and almost inevitably to result.

At the time we made an inquiry on this point several years ago, our findings indicated that the medical programs of the welfare departments in seven reporting states and twenty-one large cities and counties were administered by "laymen."

That welfare officials throughout the country are beginning to see the necessity of securing technical executives is evidenced by the fact that at least the following state welfare departments have (or had until recently) salaried medical officers in charge of their medical programs: California, Minnesota, New York, Oregon, Washington, and West Virginia. Massachusetts has created such a position and the process of selection is under way.

My observations of successful and unsuccessful programs and discussion with administrators have also led me to believe that

as there are as yet few persons especially trained in the administration of public medical service [incidentally, this is one of the most fundamental problems of all], the securing of competent technical executives is a matter of real concern. [The usual procedure is to start out picking a person without considering what his qualifications should be.] Before starting out to select candidates, the "overall" committee should be requested to suggest the necessary qualifications and to advise on the salary required to secure a qualified person.

After the qualifications have been approved, the advisory committee may well assist in the selection of several persons who meet these requirements. The final selection and appointment must, of course, be made by the governmental agency.

Qualifications will vary somewhat according to the size and nature of the program. The following might be suggested for consideration:

Professional training in medicine, public health, hospital administration, public health nursing, or medical social work.

A definite number of years' experience in the practice of the foregoing.

Demonstrated ability in administration.

Age limitation. [It is wise to select persons who are not too old. This is a new profession into which people should grow.]

A person who does not participate in the furnishing of medical care under the public program. Preferably someone who has no private practice in the community. [The reasons for this precaution are obvious, as the administrator must be impersonal and objective.]

It is not possible here to discuss the responsibilities of medical executives.

Professional supervision.—My last point is that all professional service should be under the immediate supervision of qualified members of the profession concerned.

This means something in addition to technical administration or direction of the program and can only be provided satisfactorily by the medical executive for the profession of which he is a member. I can illustrate what I mean by professional supervision by briefly describing the setup of the Boston Dispensary Domiciliary Service. Here the work of the physicians who provide medical care in the home is supervised by a full-time physician who is a member of the staff of the dispensary. This physician assigns the home calls and reviews, daily, all records of service (which include record of medical

examination, as well as diagnosis, treatment, and progress notes). He also discusses cases with the district staff in daily conferences. In addition, a half-time teaching supervisor is available for advice and consultation, either over the telephone or in the home. Here both medical supervisors are primarily concerned with the adequacy and quality of service.

Contrasted with the foregoing is the service in an eastern city where eight or ten part-time physicians report directly to the "lay" welfare administrator, who "supervises" their work. Typical supervision of panel service may be said to consist of investigation of complaints and review of physicians' accounts to control padding of bills—in other words, a negative type of supervision rather than positive promotion of the quality of service.

Finally, since it is necessary to bring this brief paper to an end, may I express the hope that my criticism of existing "disorganization" in administration may not have seemed destructive; and that at least some competent workers may be challenged to try, in their own communities, to do something about the problems I have tried to analyze.

The expenditures of local and state governments for medical care are increasing in this country, and further extensions through federal aid are proposed. Unless real progress is made in co-ordinating and improving existing governmental machinery for medical-care administration, additional expenditures, however great, may not result in an adequate, well-rounded program for medical care.

AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION

THE "BENEVOLENT FAIR": A STUDY OF CHARITABLE ORGANIZATION AMONG AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE FIRST THIRD OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

MARY BOSWORTH TREUDLEY

THE victorious conclusion of the Revolutionary War released an extraordinary amount of social energy among Americans. Along the eastern seaboard that energy was transformed into associations of all sorts, especially of an educational or humanitarian character. With men there were no taboos to delay the process of transferring European culture across the Atlantic by copying all the social devices that seemed worthy of imitation. But even in the greater freedom of American society, women were not accustomed to organize their activities publicly. The lag, however, could not be long since association was a primary characteristic of post-war society, while pioneer life and urban growth alike combined to free women for participation in every aspect of cultural development.

Church sewing circles, to be sure, had been formed before the Revolution, whose earliest achievement was to outfit the soldiers who marched with General Braddock to his defeat.¹ But credit for the initiation of charity organization among women is usually given to Anne Parrish, a young Quaker of Philadelphia. She visited in the homes made desolate by the yellow fever epidemic of 1793. By 1795 she had gathered her friends into what was at first called the "Friendly Circle" and, after its incorporation in 1811, the "Female Society of Philadelphia for the Relief and Employment of the Poor." It was designed to help "suffering fellow creatures, particularly widows and orphans," without "distinction of nation or colour."²

The statement is often made that material culture tends to be diffused more rapidly than nonmaterial. But that is not always

¹ Kate Gannett Wells, "What Women Have Done in Philanthropy," *The Second Church in Boston, 1649-1899* (Boston, 1900), p. 117.

² *Annual Report* (1858).

true. In this case, the design for women's organizations spread very rapidly. In 1797 the New York Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children was organized by Isabella Marshall Graham. In 1798 a Quaker group in New York formed a relief society with one of those mouth-filling names beloved of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1799 the ladies of Baltimore began discussions which led to the opening of an orphanage in the following year. In 1802 in the same city, the Female Humane Society was formed to supply work to widows. The women of Savannah organized at as early a date as Baltimore. Boston, stirred by news from the South, founded the Boston Female Asylum in 1800. The Benevolent Society of Troy was started a few months sooner in that same year as was also the Female Association of Philadelphia for the Relief of Women and Children in Reduced Circumstances. Salem organized its Female Charitable Society in 1801, Providence had organized a similar society by 1801, and Charleston by 1802. Societies were at work in Newark, Newburyport, Portsmouth, and Albany by 1803.³

The list is probably not complete even for the decade 1793-1803, but it gives some indication of the readiness with which women filled their new leisure with philanthropy. Charity was not the only excuse for their organization. At the same time numerous Bible, tract, and missionary societies were starting to work. Women were organizing, too, to supply young men of various brands of orthodoxy with training in theology, and they were busy also in spreading free education among the children of the poor through the Sunday-school movement.

It is not quite true that organization took place first and a purpose for it was found afterward, but a particular situation of need tended to be merely the stimulus to action which might as well have taken place with some other end in view. Association was in the air. American men were not only not opposed to such organization of

³ Thomas Alden, *A Discourse Delivered before the Members of the Portsmouth Female Asylum* (1804); Samuel Stillman, *A Discourse Delivered before the Members of the Boston Female Asylum* (1801); Eliphalet Nott, *A Discourse Delivered before the Ladies' Society for the Relief of Distressed Women and Children of Albany* (1804); William Bentley, *A Discourse Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Salem Female Charitable Society* (1807); Irving E. Fancher, *A History of the Troy Orphan Asylum, 1833-1933* (Troy, 1933).

women's activities but in some cases were its most urgent advocates. The first suggestion that Boston women should copy Savannah and Baltimore came from a man.⁴ In Newark it was the men who took the initiative in calling the first meeting for organization.⁵ In practically every community men supplied funds which women, with their lesser command of income, could not have raised among themselves.

Leadership was of secondary importance once the psychological hazards of the first stage in the adoption of the new fashion had been successfully braved. Of course, the natural leaders of a community had to be at the head of any community-wide organization, but small groups were quite free to unite for some limited purpose and to seek support within their own area of influence. In the larger communities that freedom made for a wide diversity of grouping.

The only illustration of any question about the propriety of women's organizations occurred in connection with the Boston Female Asylum. Its leading spirit was Mrs. Hannah Stillman, wife of a popular Baptist clergyman, in a period when the élite of Boston were all Unitarians. In spite of that, she managed to secure a socially impressive list of contributors headed by Mrs. John Adams. But could they hold a public meeting without awakening unfavorable comment? Fortunately Mrs. Jonathan Mason, Sr., whose social status was beyond doubt, opened her home. The subscribers were secretly invited and a large number attended. No further embarrassment seems to have been felt over the public assembling of women on their own impulse.⁶

The purposes of organization were culturally determined within definite and narrow limits. Biblical phrases, the widow and the fatherless, the sick, the hungry, Dorcas and her needle, Mary Magdalene and her sin charted the course which charity followed. But women were even more limited than men. They could relieve a family only if the father was dead or had deserted. They could pro-

⁴ *An Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Boston Female Asylum* (Boston, 1803), pp. 3-4.

⁵ *The History of the Newark Female Charitable Society* (1903), p. 5.

⁶ Abby L. Wales, *Reminiscences of the Boston Female Asylum* (Boston, 1844), pp. 8-9.

vide for aged spinsters. They could educate young female children, and that was about the limit within which they could initiate work. As auxiliaries to men's societies they could extend their field to include prostitutes and prisoners. Convention would have permitted them to nurse the sick poor, and a few societies were organized for that purpose. But the development of that type of work was hindered, if not completely prevented, by the lack of necessary inventions of appropriate procedures. The one striking exception was Anne Parrish's society which reported in 1818 that it had, in the first twenty-three years of its existence, visited and relieved 11,977 sick poor.⁷ The Female Association for the Relief of the Sick Poor, and for the Education of Such Female Children, as Do Not Belong To, or Are Not Provided For by Any Religious Society, of New York, started ambitiously to meet all unmet needs and particularly to provide for the sick, but the difficulties proved too great and they turned to the narrower field of the education of small children.⁸

The form of organization, too, was culturally determined. Most societies of any importance were incorporated so that they might hold property. They had the same elected officers and tended to choose the treasurer from among the unmarried women to avoid any legal complications arising from a husband's right to control money placed in his wife's hands. They followed the same pattern of financing. Annual dues were from one to three dollars a year, and membership depended upon their payment. There was an annual church service at which a collection was taken, and the sermon was later printed and sold. Donations were solicited or accepted from interested gentlemen who sometimes took upon themselves extensive fund raising or secured legislative grants especially to house the work of these societies. Dues were considered as income, but donations went into the capital stock which was carefully invested, as was usually part of the interest also. Only in dire emergencies, such as a yellow fever epidemic, was the capital ever touched.

Two societies were organized on a district plan similar to the one developed at Hamburg, Germany, in the late eighteenth century.

⁷ *Annual Report* (1818).

⁸ *Annual Report* (1814), pp. 4-5. Society organized by Quaker group in 1798.

The Female Association of Philadelphia for the Relief of Women and Children in Reduced Circumstances in 1800 divided the city and liberties into wards or districts, each with a manager in charge. It was her duty

to visit each applicant, to examine particularly into her moral character, her situation, her habits and modes of life, her wants, and the best means of affording relief, so that assistance may not be extended to the vicious and idle, when it is due only to the honest and necessitous suffering under sickness and misfortune.⁹

The Newark Female Charitable Society in 1803 followed the same plan, with six districts and a manager for each, who was responsible for seeking out the sick to be nursed and for discovering "genteel females" in need of charity for which they would not beg.¹⁰

The climate of opinion of the period was accepted without question by most of these societies. The poor were divided into the worthy and the unworthy, and only the former were considered deserving of aid. Large numbers of the poor were so because of their own laziness, thriftlessness, or vice. To a Scotswoman, like Mrs. Graham, who had herself experienced dire poverty, the whole class of American mechanics demanded too much in the way of luxury and had with justice to pay for their excesses during periods of depression.¹¹ It was an exceptional group that could attribute the misery of the hard winter of 1820-21 to the "want of *sufficient employment*" and could accept the point of view that "in many instances, the vice of intemperance was but the effect of a despairing state of mind, brought on by necessities the poor sufferer had no means to supply."¹² The Raleigh Female Benevolent Society took a revolutionary position in 1823 when it argued against necessarily giving the larger portion of its charity to the worthiest, that "the most deserving may not be the most *necessitous*; and although evil may previously have been committed, yet who shall say what has been resisted."¹³

⁹ *Annual Report* (1803).

¹⁰ *The History of the Newark Female Charitable Society*, pp. 9, 12.

¹¹ New York Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children, *Annual Report* (1800).

¹² Female Hospital Society of Philadelphia, *Annual Report* (1831).

¹³ *Revised Constitution and By-laws of the Raleigh Female Benevolent Society, with the Reports of the Society from Its Commencement* (1823), p. 11.

The distribution of relief was usually limited to the three "charity months" January, February, and March. The New York Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children was exceptional in voting that only two-thirds of its funds should be expended in the winter. Heroically four of its managers spent the yellow fever summer of 1799 in the city, using the society's funds and the resources of their own pantries and tapping the pocket-books of their friends to enable their beneficiaries to survive its horrors. Even in ordinary summers they knew that the children of the poor, "pent up in small, confined hot rooms," almost universally suffered from the "summer complaint" and "hooping cough," as well as from scarlet fever and smallpox.¹⁴

Because of the feeling that the poor were but the victims of their own vices an obligation rested upon a society so to safeguard almsgiving that it would not minister to depravity. A second motive for careful discrimination was to avoid any inducement to paupers to migrate to the city either from Europe or from the surrounding countryside. Philadelphia was especially hospitable to the immigrant poor, while Boston set the first precedents for limiting assistance to established residents.

The basic procedure in administration, universally adopted in theory if not always followed in practice, was the investigation of each applicant in her own home and through her relatives and neighbors in order to establish her worthiness. For the most part there were no objective criteria of worth, and the decision rested upon the arbitrary judgment of the visitor. The field repays study, for it is around the techniques of investigation that social case work developed and it is on the basis of patterns of disciplined behavior in relief giving that professional attitudes have been formed.

The most elaborate scheme for regulating the behavior of its almoners was worked out by the New York Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children between 1797 and 1813. It is interesting, not as typical of the period, but as showing how early some of the characteristic features in the administration of relief appeared. The constitution and by-laws of 1813 crystallized sixteen years of experience. The name of the society was the first delimita-

¹⁴ *Annual Report* (1800).

tion of its area of responsibility. Among poor widows, relief from the beginning was denied to the immoral and to those unwilling either to send their children to school or to apprentice them, if they had reached the proper age. By 1813 a more professional definition of its responsibility had been reached by the society. It was to care only for poor widows of "fair character" with two children under ten years of age. An aged parent or an older defective child might be considered the equivalent of a second child under ten. A fair character was deemed to be forfeited either by selling spirituous liquors or by public begging. Widows without legal residence were to be granted relief only by special vote of the board. A widow having property, the interest on which was sufficient to pay her rent, was not entitled to aid. Claims to widowhood based on the "supposed death" of a deserting husband had to be substantiated by proof that he had not been heard from for twelve months and that the probabilities were that he was dead. On the other hand, a woman with an insane husband, who had been confined for at least three months, was to be assisted as a widow.

There were no paid agents, but the distribution of relief was concentrated in the hands of the managers. Originally they met twice monthly, divided the available funds among themselves, and applied their share at their own discretion. But checks upon that discretion soon appeared. They were allowed to give relief only after a visit in the home and then only in the form of necessities. Money grants required a special vote of the board. They were permitted to exceed their allowance of funds only in the case of illness. A committee was to be appointed by the first directress to go over the managers' books once a month and make sure "whether the distribution of the society's bounty has been judiciously made." Further, the first directress was expected to visit all the widows once a year and, in addition, to accompany individual managers to deal with "particular situations of embarrassment."

The only other definite specifications related to reports. The managers were required to keep records of the name, place of abode, and circumstances of every widow relieved, the ages of her children, and the kind and amount of relief granted to each. They were also instructed, in general, to furnish suitable employment to their charges

in order to create and maintain habits of industry and to find schools for the children or places in "sober virtuous families" for those ready for service.¹⁵

If direct relief is difficult to administer, work relief presents still more difficult problems, for which no satisfactory solution has as yet been found. Attempts to "set the poor to work" were made under public auspices in the seventeenth century and on private initiative in the eighteenth century. "Charity sewing" must have been transplanted to American shores with the first colonists, but organized effort by women to supply relief work to their own sex dates from 1795.

The main features of the orthodox program are shown in Anne Parrish's Friendly Circle. It started giving both direct and work relief, but the latter became increasingly important until in 1831 direct relief was abandoned altogether. Work at first was given to women in their own homes, but in 1798 a "house of industry" was opened, from the conviction that the beneficiaries would be better off in a well-heated workshop than in their own cold and cheerless tenements. It also permitted giving one hot meal a day to the women and to the small children whom they must bring with them. The presence of the children soon resulted, as it usually did, in the establishment of a school to keep them busy and quiet. The mothers were set to work in the beginning at spinning flax and wool and making cotton stockings for the poor, but later sewing and knitting replaced spinning. The house was kept open only during the three charity months. It was the intention to provide a small group with permanent employment during that period. The society started with ten women but soon was keeping fifty busy, and feeding, with the children, over a hundred a day.¹⁶

Just how many societies furnished employment for women is difficult to determine. The material for this study has been drawn from the experience of one society in Baltimore, four in Philadelphia, and two in Boston.¹⁷ It is most nearly adequate for the discussion of two

¹⁵ New York Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children, *Constitution* (1800, 1813).

¹⁶ Friendly Circle, *Annual Report* (1858).

¹⁷ The societies used with the date of founding are as follows: in Baltimore, the Female Humane Association, founded in 1802, renamed the Humane Impartial Society

types of problems facing those early societies: the market for which production was to be carried on and the wage policy.

The problems involved in production on work relief have always been stubborn though it was only through experience that that fact was realized. The early societies thought that it would be easy to set women to work and thus make them self-supporting. In Boston the Society for Employing the Female Poor, however, after struggling with the problems involved for over a decade along orthodox lines, finally suspended operations because of the impossibility of finding an acceptable solution.¹⁸ Other societies in the same circumstances kept going, feeling that they were doing enough good to warrant continued existence. Mathew Carey, himself one of the severest critics of charitable work policies, found that it was much easier to criticize than to construct, after his own experiment in heterodoxy proved abortive. Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale alone in this period found a thoroughly workable and satisfactory way out of the difficulties inherent in work relief. Mrs. Graham anticipated two features of the W.P.A. program by a century and a third when she paid some of her poor widows to open day schools for the children of her other beneficiaries in various parts of New York City and when she secured for one of her widows the job of managing the "soup house" established by the Humane Society.¹⁹

Sewing and laundry were the only two occupations, outside of domestic service, open to unskilled women, until factory doors swung wide for their employment. The needle trades were adapted first by the charitable societies to the purposes of work relief. It was apparently not until the 1820's that laundry establishments were set up. John Gallison, who wrote the prospectus for the Society for Employing the Female Poor, hoped that it might develop new

in 1811; in Philadelphia, the Female Hospitable Society (1808), the Provident Society for the Employing of the Poor (1824), the Union Benevolent Association (1831), and the Society for Improving the Condition and Elevating the Character of Industrious Females (1838); in Boston, the Society for Employing the Female Poor (1820) and the Boston Seamen's Aid Society (1832).

¹⁸ *Statement of the Society for Employing the Female Poor* (1853).

¹⁹ J. Bethune, *The Life of Mrs. Isabella Graham* (New York, 1839), pp. 54-55.

outlets for female labor or at least devise new articles and fabrics for manufacture by its seamstresses, but his hope was not realized.²⁰

The question of a market for the garments that were made was consciously faced by the societies organized in the 1820's. The Provident Society for Employing the Poor, upon its organization in 1824, decided that it would not take family work because families ought to employ the poor directly. Nor would it compete with the domestic manufacturers, because that would only mean taking work from the poor whom they were employing. Instead it started with the policy of dumping its products abroad, that is, in South America, New Orleans, and the West.²¹ Other societies tried the same plan. An account of these ventures in foreign trade would be interesting if it were obtainable. They all alike proved failures from the point of view of profits. The one exception came later when outfits were at a premium during the California gold rush and the migration to "Bleeding Kansas."

In the home market the orthodox opinion was that only the upper classes would prove a profitable outlet. Laundry work had, of necessity, to be limited to that brought in by customers who could pay. Sewing could be disposed of in slightly more varied fashion. Work was solicited from the well-to-do. Coarse garments were made for distribution to charitable institutions either as gifts or sales. Sometimes a shop was opened to serve the poor directly. The philanthropic were asked to buy tickets and give them to the needy to use for their purchases.

The only real market, then, was to be among the wealthy. But in the days before universal compulsory education, the women who most needed help were too ignorant to be trained for the finer grades of work which alone could be sold at a profit. The Society for Employing the Female Poor hired supervisors for both its branches and a woman to give free instruction in sewing, but it proved impossible to get satisfactory work from the very poor. The only source of skill was among the "decayed gentlewomen" and those who had "seen better days." The Boston society estimated in the 1830's that forty-three dollars out of every hundred spent on

²⁰ *Explanation of the Views of the Society for Employing the Poor* (Boston, 1830), p. 4.

²¹ *Annual Reports* (1825, 1826, 1830).

the laundry reached its beneficiaries in the form of wages, but in sewing only twenty-five dollars out of every hundred was put in the hands of those the society was designed to help. It had never expected to be self-supporting, but the costs of work relief seemed excessive and its benefits to women at the lowest economic level negligible. For that reason the society terminated its active existence in 1837.²²

Mrs. Hale, who is best known as "editress" of *Godey's Lady's Book* at that very time hit upon a solution that did work at least temporarily. She approached the problem from a different angle from those who were attempting to make the very poor self-supporting through service to the rich. Her plan grew in part out of her aversion to the church sewing circle, in which benevolent upper-class women came together to sew for the poor. She felt, and said so with vigor, that they had much better be engaged in their own further cultivation. For one reason, they were much better able to find "useful occupation, elegant pursuits, or improving studies" than the poor women to whom the garments were given. Sewing would keep the latter from "idle gossip, or vicious indulgences."²³

The Boston Seamen's Aid Society was established to help Father Taylor, that lovable eccentric and powerful preacher, in his ministry to sailors. Mrs. Hale was its leading spirit during the first eight years of its existence. Starting with the idea that the poor should work for the poor, she found a natural market for the society's products among the seamen, whose demand was for cheapness and durability rather than for fine workmanship. The society was successful in serving two purposes at the same time: by employing the widows, wives, and daughters of sailors in making good and substantial articles to be sold to their own men.²⁴

Mrs. Hale departed from orthodoxy with regard not only to marketing but also to training. She understood the ingratitude of poor mothers who charged that the ordinary charity school was a

²² *Report of the Committee of Advice* (1824); *An Explanation of the Views of the Society* (1826); *Statement of the Society* (1853).

²³ Boston Seamen's Aid Society, *Annual Report* (1836), p. 6.

²⁴ Gilbert Haven and Thomas Russell, *Incidents and Anecdotes of Rev. Edward T. Taylor* (Boston, 1872), pp. 111-12.

device of the rich to get the daughters of the poor to work for nothing, since most of their time was spent in sewing for their benefactors. In the school that the Seamen's Aid Society opened in 1836, the thirty or forty little girls who attended either made clothes for themselves or were paid for what they did. More significantly, the society persuaded the city council to allow "plain needlework" to be taught in the public schools for one hour a day from April to November, the entering wedge for training in home economics.²⁵

Mathew Carey was another vigorous critic of customary patterns of charity. He spent a good deal of his energy during the latter part of his life in trying to change the atmosphere in which the rich "considered" the poor. He disapproved with vigor of the "general censure of the poor, for extravagance and dissipation." He pointed with scorn to what seemed to him the "trickle" of charity, inadequate alike to the needs of the poor and the resources of the wealthy.²⁶ A steady stream of pamphlets poured from his press, which were distributed free to the leading citizens of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and aimed to increase both the tolerance and the generosity of the well-to-do. He was disturbed not only over the pittance distributed by charity but over the starvation level of wages, especially among women in the needle trades. He thought, as did Mrs. Hale, that philanthropy should not accept the iron law of orthodox wage theory but should use liberal relief as an instrument for improving the economic position of working women.

Carey's one positive contribution to the problem of women's work was through the Society for Improving the Condition and Elevating the Character of Industrious Females, established in 1838 and very short lived. He proposed to open two schools, one for sewing and one for cookery.²⁷ The former was designed to educate women for the better-paid branches of the needle trades such as mantua making, and actually did give such training to fifteen or twenty women

²⁵ *Annual Reports* (1836), p. 18; (1837), p. 9.

²⁶ Mathew Carey, *Essays on the Public Charities of Philadelphia* (5th ed., 1830); *Letters on the Condition of the Poor of Philadelphia* (1835); *Reflections on the System of the Union Benevolent Association* (1837).

²⁷ *Address to the Public* (1838); *Annual Report* (1838).

at a time for a few terms of six or eight weeks. Despite all the criticism with regard to the scarcity of good cooks, Carey could get no backing even to start his second school. His importance is as a propagandist rather than as a founder of institutions.

It was the wage policy of the charitable societies that aroused Carey's bitterest opposition, and especially of those societies that planned, not to provide for a small permanent group during the winter, but to give work to as many women as possible. For these latter societies the two questions of importance were whether they should pay market or higher than market rates and how much work they should give to each individual. The commercial rates for shirt making varied from eight to twelve and a half cents. The average seamstress could make from seven to nine shirts a week by working from sunrise to long after sunset. Minimum rent for a single room was fifty cents a week. Even the most proficient few who earned \$1.25 or \$1.50 a week could not make enough to live on, let alone support a child or two. Mrs. Hale figured that three dollars a week was necessary for a decent standard.²⁸

The Society for Employing the Female Poor proposed to pay less than the commercial concerns in order not to tempt women from private employment. They thought of their work as preparing their beneficiaries for permanent jobs and apparently never questioned how they would live in the meantime. Some societies, like the Female Hospitable Society and the Humane Impartial Society, paid at least a half more than the sweatshops, but in good times they turned away three out of four of those who applied for work, and in depressions nine out of ten. The Provident Society for the Employment of the Poor paid twelve and a half cents and gave to most of its applicants two shirts a week and to the neediest few four. With eleven hundred women storming the door in a single day, it was difficult to resist the desire to give a little work to as many as possible.²⁹

Mrs. Hale's method of wage fixing is interesting because of its

²⁸ Boston Seamen's Aid Society, *Annual Reports* (1834), p. 9; (1836), p. 8; Carey, *Essays on the Public Charities of Philadelphia*, p. 15, and *Female Wages and Female Oppression* (1835).

²⁹ Female Hospitable Society, *Annual Report* (1826); Carey, *Letters on the Condition of the Poor*, p. 10.

anticipation of later procedures. She arrived at a just price by determining first just how much a woman actually needed to be self-supporting and live decently. That figure was then divided by the number of shirts that an "industrious female" could be expected to make in a week. The rate so fixed was double that paid by many of the sweatshops. The society employed just as many women as it could keep busy at this high rate. But the influence of its practice did not stop with its own workers. One result was that private employers in the neighborhood were forced to raise their wages by a half or a third.³⁰

Carey and Mrs. Hale were agreed that the charitable societies should use work relief to raise the wage scale for the most depressed groups. They, too, reached the conclusion that the government should also interfere with the market determination of wage rates by stipulating that contractors on government jobs should pay a wage sufficient to support a fair standard of living. Mrs. Hale proposed that such work should be kept for the families of soldiers and sailors and administered by the benevolent societies. Carey argued that the federal government employed about four hundred women for eight months in the year in Philadelphia and so was an important element in the labor market. Two petitions were actually sent from Philadelphia to the secretary of war, who referred them to the commissary-general of purchases because of the "extremely delicate relation to manufacturing interests and general prices for this kind of labor," from whom nothing further was heard.³¹

The early history of charitable organization is instructive not because its problems were solved but because they were defined and the lines along which they were to be attacked during the century that followed were so clearly marked out.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

³⁰ Boston Seamen's Aid Society, *Annual Report* (1836), pp. 8-9, 13, 15.

³¹ *Ibid.* (1837), p. 11; Carey, *Essay on the Public Charities of Philadelphia*, pp. 15-16, 41.

A SOCIAL CASE RECORD FROM A PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC WITH TEACHING NOTES¹

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

Daniel Lephanski

(Interviews with the Mother of a Boy of Normal Intelligence Who Was Referred to the Psychiatric Service because No Organic Basis Was Found for His Symptoms—Facial Tic and "Nervousness." The Worker Confronts the Problem of Overcoming Her Resistance to Facing His Need for Something Other Than Physical Care)

SETTING

[Patient has been seen in the outpatient clinic of a children's hospital in a large medical institution. The mother has been referred to the psychiatric department with the explanation that there is no physical basis for the child's tic and "nervousness" and that he does not have chorea, which she had feared. Simultaneously the neurologist requested a psychological examination, so that the boy is being tested at the time that the social worker interviews the mother.]

NARRATIVE RECORD

SOCIAL SITUATION

Family makeup:

Father: Joseph Lephanski

Mother: Mary

Brother: Richard, age fifteen, first year public high school

Patient: Daniel, born July 23, 1925; parochial school, Grade VIII

Brother: Timothy, age four

Religion: Roman Catholic

¹ This record has been preprinted from a volume of psychiatric clinic records to be published later by the University of Chicago Press. All personal and place names and other identifying data have been changed. Otherwise, only slight alterations have been made by the editor in the interest of brevity and clarity.

Reprints of this record appearing in this issue of the *Social Service Review* are available from the University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, at 10 cents per copy; minimum order, ten copies, \$1.00.

Reprints of two other psychiatric clinic records—"Thomas Corrigan," appearing in the March, 1940, *Review*; and "Doris Carey: A Young Woman in an Acute Anxiety State Who Is Obsessed with the Idea That Her Baby Is Dying or That Some Harm Will Befall Him"—are also available from the University of Chicago Press. Reprints of either record may be secured at 10 cents per copy; minimum order, ten copies, \$1.00.

Brief talk with mother.—On March 28, 1939, the day of referral to psychiatry, worker talked briefly with mother, who indicated that she had come to the hospital chiefly to clarify for herself whether or not patient had chorea. She was much relieved when the doctor told her there was no actual infection, and she indicated that, so far as she was concerned, she was no longer interested in continuing at the hospital.

Worker suggested to mother that, although there was no physical basis that could be discovered for patient's tic, the doctors had thought that there was probably some cause for it, and they were interested in helping discover what that cause might be, whether in home or school or with his friends. Mother asked immediately if this were the psychiatric service and said that she had never had much faith in psychiatrists. Upon questioning, she denied ever having had contact with a psychiatrist but said that she had read about them. She emphasized that, so long as there was nothing physical, she had no particular concern regarding the habit spasm.

Mother was particularly anxious, however, to have the results of the intelligence test given on this day. She felt that if the boy was mentally all right, it was all one could ask for. However, she said that if the doctors really felt it would be of help to the boy, she could arrange to come in once to talk with social worker. We suggested that she think this over and told her that we wanted her to come only if she felt it might be helpful. Mother said that it took her two hours to come to the hospital and she had the baby to take care of (Timothy, aged four).

March 28, 1939.—Case cleared with Social Service Exchange. No record.

April 3, 1939.—Mother telephoned neurologist to obtain results of the intelligence test. Dr. Y. asked that worker talk with mother.

Mother said she had been very uneasy since patient's intelligence had been tested and she wanted to know what his rating was. Worker said that patient had indicated that he had average ability for a boy of his years. The psychologist felt that he was in the proper school placement and that he should be able to get along well. Mother said she was much relieved to hear this, although she had never thought her boy was dumb. Upon questioning, she said that his tic was becoming increasingly worse, and he was nearly "driving her crazy." She wanted to know if worker could give her any recommendations as to what she could do. Worker said that we could not give this over the telephone, as we would want to talk to her a great deal more with regard to the boy before giving advice, and indicated that this was the reason we had originally asked for her to come in. Mother asked if we just could tell her whether it was wise to

keep the boy from going to the movies or not. She just wanted "a little bit of advice," so that she would know whether she was doing the right thing. Worker said we knew it was difficult for mother to have us refuse her even this little bit. We compared patient's condition to that of a child having a pain in the chest and said that a doctor could not tell mother what to do unless he knew whether the pain was caused by tuberculosis, bronchitis, or pneumonia. Mother said she began to see what we meant, and she appreciated the interest of the clinic. She felt, however, that the trip was such a long one that she did not wish to come again unless it was absolutely necessary. She would wait two weeks or a month and see how things went before she decided to come in.

April 19, 1939.—Mother telephoned, saying that she had been thinking about previous contact with worker. Patient's habit has become increasingly worse, and mother feels impelled to do something about it. She wondered if it were possible for her to have just one more conversation with Dr. Y. She thought that if he would reassure her that there could not be any possible physical cause for the tic she would like to go into the other angle of it. Worker said that we were sure that this could be arranged.

Mother said: "It just doesn't seem there couldn't be some physical reason." She continued that it was "awful" to think that something psychological could happen in her family. She has read about these dreadful things in the newspaper, but she cannot believe that there is anything in her family that would make any child of hers so nervous. "I'm so worked up about it, I just can't think straight."

Worker asked what made mother feel so upset to think that there was a psychological, rather than a physical, cause for patient's behavior. Did she think that it was something of a disgrace? Mother replied that, after all, her own mother had never had any difficulty in raising a huge family. They were brought up to do certain things and not to do others. They got a spanking now and then, but there wasn't anything "fancy" in the way they were handled. All these newfangled ideas as to how to treat children are "Greek" to mother.

Worker said that we would like to have a chance to talk about all this with mother rather than over the telephone. We felt that we could tell her this, however, that the doctors here feel that it is just as important to understand the psychological factors in a patient's life as to understand the physical ones, that one is not more important than the other. We said that we felt many times people outside of the hospital regarded nervousness and worrying as something set apart, but we saw it all together.

We continued that perhaps some of this in more extreme cases had been noted by mother herself. For instance, for a long time people who were insane were considered a disgrace, but now everyone realizes that this is just as much a sickness as chronic arthritis. We said that, of course, this was a very extreme comparison. We continued that all this would probably not mean very much to mother, but we just wanted to leave with her the idea that physical and psychological things are not entirely separate. For instance, she had mentioned that maternal grandmother had definite means for punishment. Possibly mother felt good or bad about them, but certainly she could not deny that she had certain feelings. This is what we were interested in talking over with her regarding patient. Everybody has feelings, and the doctors are coming to think that they are very important to take into consideration, no matter what they are.

Mother said that, as worker had talked, she could see that there might be some things in the school that patient would have some feelings about, and she would like to discuss them with worker. For instance, she wondered right now about patient's teacher.

Worker suggested at this point that mother not tell us anything more, as we felt she would want to talk all these things over, if she came in, with some leisure. Mother said she would consider the matter. She would call Dr. Y. and then call worker for an appointment.

Later.—Mother telephoned, saying that she is convinced it is best for her to come in to talk about patient. She would have a ride to the hospital the following day and asked if she could come in then. Worker said that we could not see her at that time but that we would make arrangements for Miss B. to talk with her. Mother seemed to hesitate a little bit at first; but upon our assurance that we would tell Miss B. everything that we had discussed together, she said that she would come at the time arranged.

April 20, 1939.—Mother telephoned that she would be unable to keep appointment as arranged, because father was not driving into town on that day as planned, and she did not feel well enough to make the trip by streetcar. She would like an appointment for the following week and asked if she might call the day before, as this was the longest notice she would have of father's driving. Worker said she might do this. We thought she was probably still finding it very hard to think of coming to the clinics. Mother said she wanted to come now, because she has certain things in mind regarding patient's experiences in school with which she would like to talk with Miss B. It was arranged that mother might call when she wanted to make another appointment.

April 27, 1939.—Mother telephoned, asking for appointment for the following day, which was given. She said that patient's tic was nearly "driving her crazy." Worker commented that it must be disturbing to her. Mother stated that it is impossible for her to think that there can be no organic cause for it. But she is willing to go into the "psychological" end. Worker said mother seemed to feel psychological causes were awesome or disgraceful. Mother remarked that she had always thought of "psychological" as being connected with insanity, not with normal people. Worker said a great many people did. We didn't question but that mother might be quite perplexed. It is hard to think how just little happenings in our everyday life can have a very great effect. Yet, they do, and if mother comes tomorrow she can talk all these questions over with worker.

April 28, 1939.—Father telephoned, explaining that mother could not come to keep her appointment, as she had lost her voice. She would get in touch with clinic later.

May 4, 1939.—Mother telephoned asking for an appointment on the following day.

May 5, 1939.—Mother in clinic. After meeting new worker, mother spontaneously exclaimed that she had been upset over what she had learned here. Never before had she known that physical disorders could be caused by environmental difficulties. She had always thought psychiatric referral implied insanity or mental deficiency. She was relieved to know patient is not mentally defective, and she is sure he is not crazy. Worker wondered if referral to psychiatry had made her fear this. Mother denied having had this fear. Worker explained that psychiatric services for children help many parents deal with the mild behavior disturbances and nervous conditions which children have. Mother discussed the clinic service as a whole and modern ideas regarding behavior for nearly an hour, asking numerous questions before discussing patient. This seemed to reassure her. She said she was "sold" on the idea of the clinic and would tell everything. She began to talk freely about the school situation. She then proceeded to talk about the patient within the family and criticized herself in several instances for her own handling of patient, expressing a desire to change. She seemed especially troubled about her own feelings about patient and talked in this area as though impelled to bring out her early rejection of him, even though it was difficult to admit these feelings. The interview is summarized as follows:

Patient, a thirteen-year-old boy, was referred by Dr. Y. on March 28, 1939, because of a facial tic and jerking and twisting of the neck, which had first appeared six weeks before that date. Mother said that patient

had always been high strung and hyperactive, but there had been no indications of a tic until patient had had scarlet fever. Patient had complained of stiffness in his neck just before the attack of scarlet fever and had developed the tic. Since then the tic has been growing worse, although he had not been very ill with scarlet fever. Patient was careless about school work and did not like his teacher. Mother said that she had little faith in psychologists, but was reassured when told that patient had normal intelligence (I.Q., 102; C.A. and M.A., thirteen years, eight months).

Symptoms of concern.—When mother was seen in the clinic on May 5, 1939, she said that she had forgotten to mention that patient had had fainting spells during the last two years. These usually occurred shortly after patient had to return to school, and generally occurred at school. Also, patient talks all night, going over conversations he has had with other boys about games they have played or about his school work. Patient does everything rapidly. He dresses so quickly that mother feels he is never carefully dressed, and he forgets to put on his necktie and once in a long while even forgets to put on his shirt. He sometimes takes his plate from the table and goes down to the billiard table in the basement, trying to eat and play billiards at the same time.

Father insists that patient control his jerking and mother says that he does but that it becomes worse when he goes out to play. Mother discussed with worker whether it would be possible for patient to overcome his trouble by self-control, and seemed to accept the idea that this would only increase his nervous tension and that, unless the underlying cause of the difficulty could be treated, it would become worse and might reappear in some other form.

Patient is worried about the trouble himself but tells mother he cannot help it, and mother notices that the tic is not so pronounced when she does not call patient's attention to it.

Prenatal and birth experience.—Mother said that patient had not been planned for, as she and father did not feel that they could afford to have a child at that time. She has read articles in *Parents' Magazine* which say that this attitude often affects a child and feels that she may be to blame for patient's nervousness, although she tried to make him feel that he was wanted. When she bought toys for the children, she often spent a little more for patient's presents than for his older brother, so that he would not feel that he was not loved as much. Mother believes that she really does care just as much for patient. Pregnancy and labor were normal; mother recalls very little about this. Instruments were used at birth. Patient was

bottle fed from the start, as mother was not able to nurse him. Mother was unable to give dates of developmental history but believed patient was walking at thirteen months and talking quite a bit when he was two. Toilet training was completed before patient was two. Mother says that she reared both the older boys according to schedule and believes their younger brother is happier and less nervous because she is not being so fussy with him. Mother does not recall much of the training but says that she had practically no difficulties with either of the older boys and thought she was doing the right thing in following a rigid routine. Patient has never had food fads. Sleeping habits have been regular, although patient was always easily awakened by any noise. Until the past year patient did not talk in his sleep very much, although he has always done this on occasion.

Patient was careless of his personal appearance as a child, but during the last three years has shown considerable improvement. About two months ago patient again became very careless and does not care what he wears. He always has to be sent from the table to wash his hands and to comb his hair, and he "throws" his clothes on in the morning. Patient is short for his age, mother believes, and has shown no signs of maturity. Mother is not worried about this but believes that patient may be, as he has been seen looking at himself critically in the mirror and has remarked that he would like to be taller than he is.

Neither patient nor his older brother has ever asked for sex information, although both father and mother told them when they were quite small that they would always answer their questions. Shortly before patient's younger brother was born, mother said they were expecting a baby in the family and that the baby was now inside of mother and that mother would be quite sick at the hospital when the baby was born. Neither patient nor his older brother asked any questions, and mother did not go into details or say anything more. When she returned from the hospital, patient would not believe that the baby was his brother and asked where he came from. Mother said she was too tired to go over all this again and besides she did not know what to say. She would appreciate it if someone else gave her son sex information or told her what to say, if it was really necessary. Sometimes she thought sex information just put ideas in children's heads; and she had no idea how much a boy of patient's age should know, but would like to have further advice on this point, and it was agreed that it would be discussed at a later interview. Mother knew of no sex activities of any kind which patient might have indulged in and said that she thought she would know, as patient's friend played at their house

so much of the time and she often watched them. Mother wanted to know if all boys went through a period of masturbation and said that she hoped her boys had never done this, although she knew it was not very harmful and was widespread.

Health.—Patient's health has been good, mother believes. He had measles at two, a tonsillectomy at six, and a broken arm at eight, but recovery from all these illnesses was easy. As previously noted, patient had scarlet fever in February, 1939, but convalesced rapidly and did not seem to require an unusual amount of attention or to show any disposition to prolong his illness.

Socializing experience.—Mother believes patient has always played well with other children. He has entered into games readily since he first went to school and now especially enjoys baseball and basketball. Mother believes that patient is neither especially timid or overly aggressive and that he has always entered into group play easily. Patient wanted to join a group called the Lone Star Boys, but the cost of the uniform and membership fee was prohibitive, especially since mother felt patient often was very enthusiastic about doing something new and then dropped it after a month or two.

Mother believes that patient would like to go out with girls, but whenever he has asked for a date, he has been refused. Within the last two months, patient has started making fun of girls, as he did when he was much younger; and when a girl in his class invited him over to play ping-pong he refused, commenting to mother that he didn't want to be a sissy.

Discipline.—Mother applied rigid disciplinary methods with both the older boys until the time they were of school age, when she felt, because of articles that she had read and from discussion of other parents, that she had been too strict. The boys had previously been spanked or put in the closet for misbehavior, and father had also disciplined in much the same way. Mother now tries to reason with the boys but occasionally finds it necessary to keep them in from play or deny them money for the movies if they disobey. Father still believes they should do as they are told, without question, and does not want them to play five minutes longer than the time allotted. When patient recently saw an "Andy Hardy" picture, he asked if he might do everything he pleased for a week, as Andy Hardy did. Mother said that he might if he would be responsible for all his actions; but this week is not to take place until after school closes, and mother is not sure that her nerves will be strong enough to stand it or that father will permit it. Patient particularly wants to be allowed to come and go as he pleases without "punching a clock" or making explanations. Both older boys are given ten cents a week for the movies and other money

when they ask for it, and mother and father both feel it is advisable for them to have it. Patient occasionally earns a quarter distributing advertisements for a neighborhood drug store. Mother believes the boys should have an allowance but does not know how much.

School.—Patient has never shown much interest in school, although doing fairly satisfactory work until last year. His seventh-grade teacher was interested in patient, and he seemed enthusiastic about his work for the first time. His present teacher is very critical and domineering, according to mother, and patient has said that he hates her. Before entering the fifth grade, patient attended a public school, as there was no Catholic school in the neighborhood. A Catholic high school, which mother prefers, may not be possible because the cost of tuition, transportation, and lunches is prohibitive. Mother thinks that religious training in school is necessary if one is going to be a good Catholic, and father agrees. Mother would like to have the clinic show patient's present teacher "that she is all wrong" but rather wishes to avoid contact with the school, since patient is so near graduation and it might make things harder. Mother was interested in knowing that the clinic often attempted to work with the schools. Patient has shown no special abilities. Mother hopes both boys will at least finish high school, but will not force them to do this if they prefer to quit. She feels sure that patient's older brother will continue and perhaps try to go to college. Patient has never caused any serious difficulties at school, but his teachers have usually felt that he was not doing all he could do. Frequently they have commented on his untidiness.

Family background: Mother.—Maternal grandmother and grandfather were both Polish, coming to this country before their marriage and settling in a Polish community. Mother has two older sisters and a younger brother, and there were three sisters who died. Mother was reared in a strict atmosphere. She was expected to obey without question and to consider her duty to her parents before anything else. She went through the second year of high school and married father the next year, at the age of nineteen. She was anxious to establish a home of her own and to leave the repressive atmosphere of her parents' home. At the same time she feels that children reared in Polish families had fewer problems and emotional disturbances than many modern children who are given more freedom.

Father.—Father was the next to the eldest of seven children of parents who came from Poland. He, too, was reared in a rigid environment and was expected to help with family expenses when he was still in school. Father believes that children should be obedient and that parents know what is best for their future.

Marital relationships.—Mother says that both families approved of the

marriage. Mother was told beforehand to obey her husband in everything. She understood that sex relations would not be at all enjoyable and did not know, until she had been married several years, that most women did enjoy them. She then read several books and articles and discussed this with father. Mother now believes that their sexual adjustment is very harmonious. The first and last children were planned for. Mother has used contraceptives even though the church does not approve, because she feels that this is something she has a right to decide for herself. Father is usually tired at night and is nervous and irritable. He worries a great deal about finances, and, although the family weathered the depression pretty well, father always thinks that he is going to lose his job and that they will all be on relief. Mother knows that she is nervous and quick-tempered herself and sometimes has little patience with the children and with father's moods. On the whole, mother believes the marriage to be satisfactory, but "it isn't the kind you see in the movies."

Siblings.—Richard, patient's older brother, has always been a much better student than patient, and all the teachers have always made unfavorable comparisons. Also, Richard is neater in his personal appearance and much more mature physically. He is quite attractive to girls and goes out with them a great deal. Richard has a pleasing, friendly manner and is deferential to older people. The boys have separate friends, but they all play ball games together. Although they have always quarreled some, mother does not believe they do this to a greater extent than other brothers and again emphasized that, if anything, she tended to take patient's part a little more than Richard's. Richard "handled" father better than patient and sometimes was able to get his own way without father's realizing it; mother thought that perhaps she gave in to Richard sometimes because he was "smooth."

Both boys are fond of Tim, the younger brother, and enjoy playing with him. When he was a baby, they ignored him; but since he has been about two years of age, they have enjoyed having him with them much of the time. Mother described Tim as having a happier disposition than anyone in the family. Richard wants to be a teacher and occasionally criticizes patient for his disinterest in school work. Patient usually just sulks in reply to this but sometimes loses his temper. Mother said that she could see, in discussing this, that perhaps Richard was a little superior in his attitude toward patient and that most people found him more attractive. Father does not play with the boys, as he is tired at night, and mother believes both boys talk to her more freely. Sometimes when she scolds patient he will cry or will sulk for two or three days, but Richard usually accepts the criticism politely and apologizes for what he has done.

Richard is more affectionate toward mother, putting his arm around her and often telling her how much he loves her. Patient thinks this is silly.

Other relatives.—Other relatives visit in the home so seldom that mother does not believe that they influence the boys very much. However, maternal uncle lived with the family until his marriage last year. This uncle was quite shiftless, refusing to go to school and always doing just as he pleased. Mother practically reared maternal uncle and could do nothing with him. He would run away or play truant whenever he felt like it, and, as a result, could not find any employment except as a factory worker, although mother thought his intelligence was good. Unfortunately, both boys like this uncle because of his genial disposition and his willingness to play games with them. Both boys have said they would rather be like him than father, and uncle and patient were particularly close friends until his marriage. Since then he only calls once or twice a month, and mother would be pleased if he did not come at all, since the boys have made such an idol of him.

Economic situation and living arrangements.—Family are purchasing a five-room house. The boys share a bedroom and have always slept together. Father earns \$120 a month, and mother worries because she has been unable to save anything from this and has difficulty managing.

Worker's impression.—Throughout the interview, mother seemed sincere and eager to co-operate but at first was quite tense and had to be reassured before she could go on whenever she brought up a point where she felt she had been at fault. It still seemed difficult for mother to accept psychiatric service, although she said she wanted it and was desperate. Mother is a small, neatly dressed woman, who seemed alert and responsive throughout the interview. She described herself as a "chronic worrier."

Disposition.—It was explained that we would discuss the situation again after the doctor's recommendations had been made. Mother said that she was going to take the boys to camp, as she could do this without charge, in exchange for taking care of a child. She had done this last summer, and both boys had enjoyed the swimming and fishing and outdoor life. Father would come up occasionally. Mother would appreciate having all the advice she could get but would not be in the city after June, and found it difficult to come to the clinic, as the trip took two hours and she had the baby to take care of. She wondered if one more visit would be sufficient. Appointment made for May 30, 1939.

SUMMARY OF SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

[May 30, 1939.—Mother telephoned, breaking appointment because of her father's illness. She expressed the hope that she could come in soon

but was not sure when she could come. She is eager to know our recommendations. It was agreed that mother would call the clinic for an appointment.

June 2, 1939.—Mother in office by appointment. When worker inquired about her father's health, she said he was better and added: "You can see that I am becoming converted to psychiatry because I think a lot of his trouble is mental, and I wish he could see a psychiatrist." She continued that she knew he would die rather than do this, because he thought about it the way she used to think—that it was a disgrace. Worker asked mother how she felt about it now. She replied that she thought psychiatrists were just another kind of specialist and that sometimes they could help when no one else could. She added that no one else in her family agreed with this, but she believed it was true. She had thought over everything that she had discussed with worker last time and realized that there was nothing wrong with her son just because he needed this help. She believed the things worker told her—but, of course, she would not admit this to most of her friends or her family, or they would think she had lost her mind. She said somewhat defensively that once she thought a thing over carefully and made up her mind, she *really* felt that way about it. Mother then changed the subject abruptly to talk about her father.

She spoke of his demanding attitude and of her belief that he had prolonged his illness in order to have everyone in attendance upon him. Worker asked why this might be satisfying to him, and mother recounted how he had been a busy, active man for years and now that his family had grown and he had retired from business he had no other interests or satisfactions. Worker agreed and interpreted the needs of elderly people to have interests and to feel needed. Mother said she had tried to make suggestions and help him find interests, but he would tolerate no suggestions from his children, with whom he had always been dominating. He always had to have his own way. Worker expressed understanding of how hard this must be for mother. Mother replied that when they were children they had all been frightened of him and obeyed him; then suddenly they were grown up and realized that he was really a child. Worker agreed that it was a difficult situation when parents who had not been too understanding lived with children. Mother replied that it was. She felt sorry for him because he was lonely and did not know what to do with his time. Worker suggested that this was a problem which so many families had to face and that it was difficult for everyone concerned. Mother said she did not feel bitter toward her father, as she had when she was a child, but she wished that he would stay with the other children more or would live by

himself. When he was ill, she wanted to take care of him and realized that in many ways she was fond of him. Worker agreed that it was possible to feel two ways about the same person, and said that perhaps, if maternal grandfather could realize that his children did care about him but had their own lives, he would not be so demanding. Mother thought it probably true that he demanded attention because they did ignore him somewhat. This was the only way he could feel important. Mother could see that their treatment and his attitude was a "vicious circle." He had a little money and was not dependent upon anyone financially, but he just did not know what to do with himself. Mother was going to arrange for a medical examination for him soon for asthma. Perhaps a psychiatrist could talk with him, but she was afraid he would realize this and would be furious. Worker said that it would be unwise to try to arrange for a psychiatrist to see him without his understanding and consent, but perhaps he could be persuaded by degrees. Mother thought she would try this by discussing his nervous condition with him.

Mother said she was anxious to hear what had been suggested for patient. She herself believes that there is rivalry between the two boys. Worker expressed interest in this, and mother inquired whether the psychiatrist could tell what was wrong with a child without seeing him. Worker said that it might be necessary for patient to see the psychiatrist later but that in the meantime it would be helpful if mother would tell us about the rivalry situation and any other concerns that she had about the patient.

She recounted that since her last interview she had watched for this and had noted that Richard was smug and acted superior to patient. She then brought out some positive comments about the patient, adding that some people thought him more of a "real boy" than Richard. She asked how she could help straighten out the rivalry situation. Worker asked for her ideas, and she volunteered that she had thought over what worker had said previously about developing patient's special abilities. She wondered if he could be enrolled in a drawing class. Worker affirmed this idea, and it was agreed that she would help mother find a class for him. Worker then interpreted differences in children and how they would probably always be different. It was not a question of one being better than the other; each could be effective in his own way. Mother again spoke favorably of patient, enumerating his good points. She mentioned again how she had not wanted him when he was a baby—and how she had tried to make up for this by giving him better gifts and more things. This was talked through, and mother concluded that she had been "buying him off" and

that the presents had not made up for love. Since she feels that he has sensed her true feeling, mother thought that perhaps she could be more approving of him, for in some ways she has thought him superior to Richard, but at the same time she has feared he would grow up to be shiftless like her brother.

Mother then asked worker's advice about many things, whether or not she should change patient's school, whether she should relax the rules at home and give the children more freedom than she had had as a child, whether or not she should give them sex instruction. After talking through some of these questions, worker suggested that perhaps mother felt she had no one to whom she could turn with her problems. Mother replied that ever since maternal grandmother died, when mother was sixteen, she had felt rather lost. She had turned to her mother for everything, and it was not only the good advice which her mother had given her which meant so much, but the calm, reassuring way in which she had always talked to her. When mother married, her husband assumed all responsibility at first, and she continued to be more or less of a child. Worker suggested that perhaps that had not helped. Mother agreed; she had turned to her husband for everything. Later when the children were born, father began to tire of assuming this responsibility and suddenly expected her to take it, but she did not know how. Her sisters were always critical of her, and mother began keeping things to herself and worrying about them. She would like to be a self-reliant person but knows that she is not.

Worker remarked that we all needed to be dependent upon someone and asked mother how it helped her to talk things over. She said that she felt less worried than she had for a long time, that she understood her difficulties more and felt better able to cope with them. Worker suggested that all of us were helped in this way and that we gained self-reliance through learning more about our problems and how to meet them. In many ways mother had succeeded in rearing her children very well, in spite of difficulties. The fact that she needed help in some respects and was willing to seek it indicated that she was a capable mother who took her responsibilities seriously. The clinic could work only through her, and there would be no advantage in making suggestions to her except where we felt she could use them. Mother said that she understood that now and would have come in long ago if she had known just what it was going to be like.

Worker remarked that perhaps mother had worries of her own which she might wish to discuss. In a family these things were all so interrelated that it sometimes helped to talk about other things even if they did not

appear directly connected with the children. Mother replied that she had often felt she would like to discuss things, although there was nothing serious. Worker explained that we were just as much interested in mother's own problems as those directly connected with the children; and if she wished to discuss anything that concerned her, we would always be interested.

Perhaps mother might wish to come to the clinic regularly when she returned to the city next fall, and we would be glad to arrange for this. After thinking for a minute, mother said that she might wish to do this. It would be difficult because it took so long to come in, but she would see how things were going in the fall. She regretted that the clinic was not closer to her home. Mother said that, anyway, she would want to talk to worker when she returned from camp and discuss plans for the boys again. When they were little, she felt able to manage; but she was glad to know where she could turn for help now that they were going into adolescence. Worker commented that many mothers felt that way. Mother added that she might want to come in just to talk about herself, too.

As mother left, she said, smiling, that the clinic should advertise. She thought there were many mothers who would be helped by coming here. She herself "felt lots better about everything."

In November, 1939, on follow-up inquiry, mother reported that the boys had had a good summer at camp. She considers the patient's behavior much improved and says that she no longer needs help from the clinic. Whenever she is in the hospital "about the children's physical disorders" she will come in to talk with worker. There are no concerns which justify the long trip and leaving the baby. In July, 1940, mother had not yet returned.]

TEACHING NOTES

This case enables the student to consider one worker's attempt to ease the anxiety and to overcome the resistance of a defensive parent who finds it difficult to accept the imposed replacement of the problem from the son's physical condition to emotional factors. Apparently this replacement involves her in a closer relationship to the problem than she was ready to face.

During the initial contacts in person and over the telephone one sees the woman expressing anxiety and bringing out her resistance to being referred to psychiatry. One notes the worker eagerly, perhaps even anxiously, endeavoring to overcome the resistance through trying to ease the anxiety by interpreting her professional point of view about psychiatry and mental disorder. One sees the woman's resistance mounting and one notes her struggle, which varies momentarily. She would dispose of this threatening experience entirely by deny-

ing any need for it; she would keep it at arm's length by interposing the telephone and by minimizing the problem; she would reach out for the service experimentally, demanding a "bit of advice," only to retreat when limitations are imposed, erecting distance as a barrier. But certain pressures persist, so that eventually she returns, perhaps one should say *inevitably* she returns, and with what purpose? What may these pressures be and with what purpose does she come are questions which we would like to answer. We can only speculate about them because the nature of the worker's efforts obscures the picture. We are left unable to gauge this woman's readiness for change or capacity to use help. Certainly we have here a very dynamic response. It is clear that she could not face her involvement in the problem without considerable help. Whether or not she could have used help more appropriately timed to her need is not clear. This case, then, is useful in the classroom largely in terms of the questions which it raises rather than in affording conclusive answers.

Consideration focuses around the following questions, and the evidence is weighed carefully with reference to each question, even though no conclusions can be reached:

1. The meaning of this woman's marked resistance:

a) Might it be symptomatic of an urgent need for help? The response is considered in the light of the principle that an urgent need for help may make the helping situation so seductive as to be threatening. Wanting to succumb, the person fights his inclinations, lest he give way to his impulse to get help which he may fear for various reasons. Therefore, the peak of resistance may constitute a last-stand defense and may precede either a retreat from the situation or a complete going-over to it with precipitous response within it. The degree of resistance, then, may be a measure of the urgency of need for help and of readiness for it in spite of the seeming opposition.

b) Might the resistance indicate a basic unreadiness to place the problem in the psychological area because of the implied stigmas, blame, etc.? Deep feelings of guilt might operate to prevent her from assuming full responsibility for the problem.

c) Might the resistance have emerged largely in response to the worker's approach and ways of dealing with resistance? In what respects could this worker's approach well have strengthened this woman's guilt and anxiety, thereby intensifying the resistance?

2. Ways of dealing with resistance:²

a) Consideration of the limitations of a persuasive approach. How do we ease fears? Through talking the person out of them or through helping him give expression to them. How do we get a person to accept a new understanding of our service? Through merely telling him about it or through *first* understanding him. May he not become receptive to understanding us in so far as we have understood him? How do we get a person to relate himself differently to his

² See below, bibliography, Sec. I, p. 540.

problem? By pressing him to look at it from our angle or by looking at it *first* from his angle? May he not be more prone to view the problem from another standpoint if we have viewed it with him *first* from his standpoint?

b) Consideration of points at which worker was helpful. Consideration also of specific ways in which worker might have been more helpful to this woman in her struggle to decide for or against the service. In this connection consideration is given to the anxiety-producing efforts of the clinic worker to have the woman accept complete replacement of the problem from the physical area to the psychological area and from the child to herself. How might the worker have been less demanding and more supportive? Consideration is given to the ideas that it is essential to accept the individual where he is and to the concept that change in his relationship to his problem may occur only gradually. In this connection a different use of the clinic's function as a child-guidance service and the use of the mother's version as to the onset of the problem are discussed.

3. The import of the precipitous response of "telling all" and of condemning self, following the prolonged and pronounced resistance, is discussed in terms of (a) the probable meaning of this response, (b) subsequent reactions that might be expected, and (c) subsequent expectations from the clinic.

The second interview on June 2, 1939, is evaluated in the light of questions raised by the preliminary contacts and the interview of May 5, 1939: What may be the import of the mother's focus upon her father? Why may she dwell upon him and her relationship with him? Why does she again bring the patient into the discussion and raise many specific questions regarding her handling of him and his brother? What may be the import to the mother of the fact that worker excluded the patient from direct clinic contact and focused on her instead? In this connection we note mother's response to worker's efforts to redefine the service around her and to her efforts to have the mother admit her need for someone to turn to with her personal problems as well as with the child's problems. The mother's comments on leaving raise certain questions. Why might we anticipate termination? What factors make us question that mother has been helped to the extent claimed and that Daniel has improved markedly? In this connection we draw on the mother's response throughout our contacts with her and on the information revealed about herself and patient to guide us in our tentative diagnostic thinking. With reference to patient, consideration is given to the significance of his symptoms as described by the mother with full realization that our thinking is tentative, since it is based on the mother's version of him rather than on direct observation.³

In conclusion, an attempt is made to formulate a few principles regarding the intake interview in which, regardless of setting, it frequently is necessary to understand and to deal with the conflict about and resistance to the service itself before one can move into helping the person with whatever difficulty he presents. With these general principles in mind some thought is given to apply-

³ See below, bibliography, Sec. II.

ing them in this particular setting in which parents for the most part have placed their children's problems in the physical area and suddenly are forced to replace them wholly or in part.⁴ Consideration is given to (1) the pediatrician's handling of referrals; (2) the possibilities for partializing the transition through focusing this new service on the child rather than on the parent; through focusing on the parent's concern with physical origins and bases rather than through demanding that he immediately focus wholly on the psychological bases; (3) through interpreting and clarifying the function of this service as the parent becomes sufficiently secure to reach out to understand it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I

- ALLEN, FREDERICK H. "Creation and Handling of Resistance in Clinical Practice," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. II, No. 3 (July, 1932).
- DAWLEY, ALMENA. "Treatment Possibilities in the Application Interview," in *Readings in Mental Hygiene*. Ed. GROVES and BLANCHARD. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1936.
- APTEKAR, HERBERT H. "Causality and Treatment," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (April, 1939).
- . "The Continuity of Intake and Treatment Processes," *The Family*, March, 1937. Also in *Readings in Social Case Work*, ed. FERN LOWRY (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), pp. 217-22.
- . "Diagnosis—A Changing Concept," in *Readings in Social Case Work*, ed. FERN LOWRY (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), pp. 249-57. Also in *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, March, 1939, p. 36.
- DEIHL, NANNIE E., and WILSON, ROBERT S. "Can Listening Become a Case Work Art?" *The Family*, June, 1933. Also in *Readings in Social Case Work*, ed. Fern Lowry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), pp. 229-42.

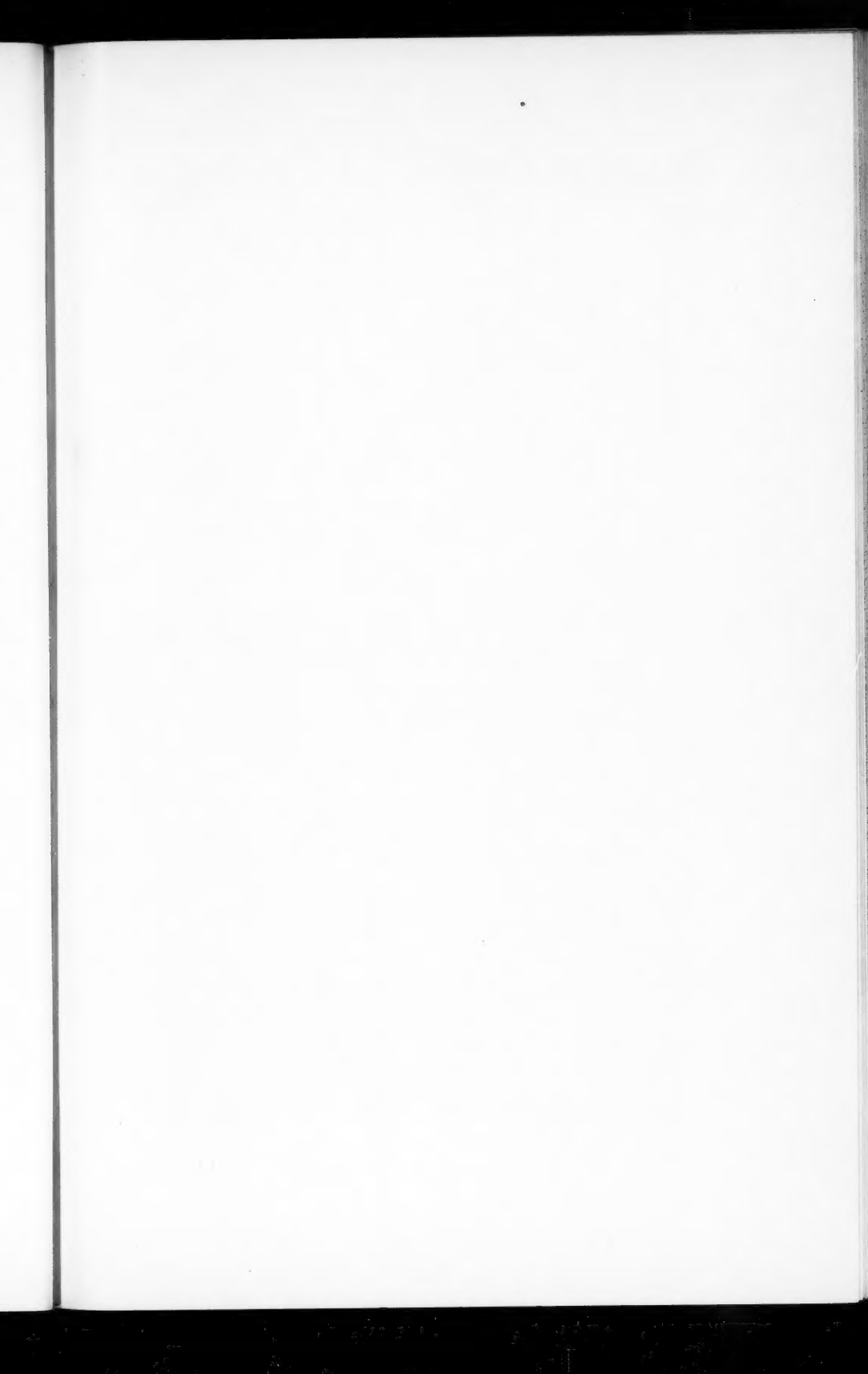
II

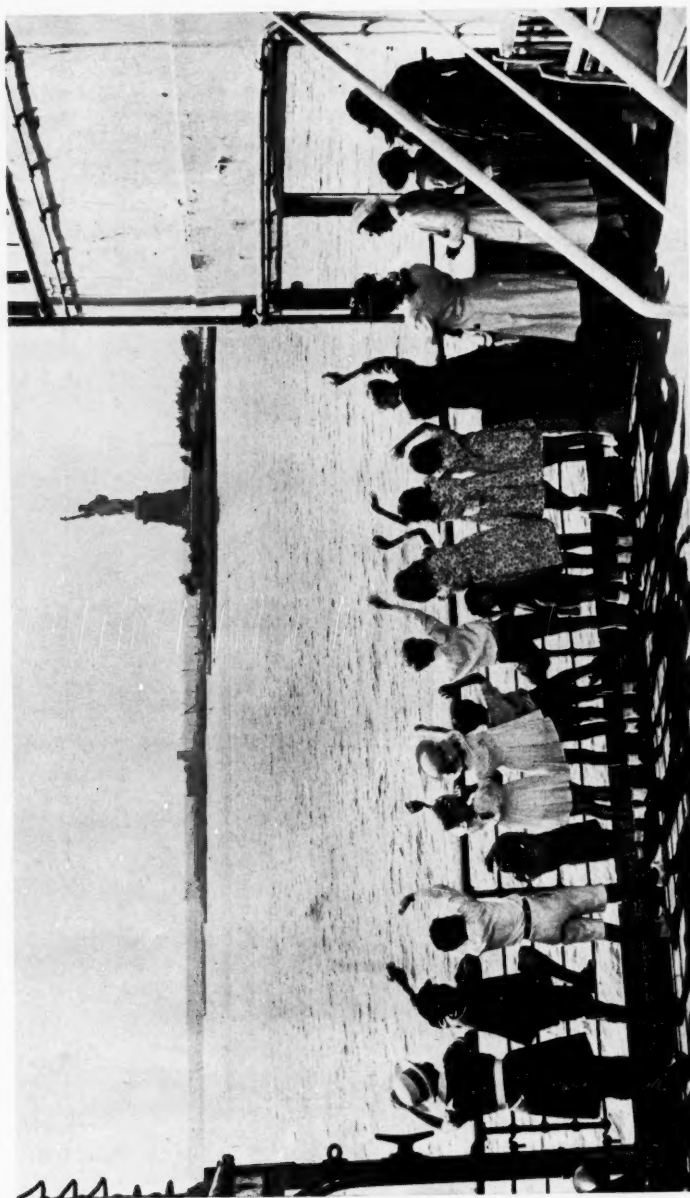
- BLEULER, EUGEN. *Textbook of Psychiatry*, trans. A. A. BRILL (New York: Macmillan, 1936), pp. 150-53, 560-64.
- ENGLISH, O. S., and PEARSON, G. H. J. *Common Neuroses of Children and Adults* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1937), pp. 130-38, 210-14.
- KANNER, LEO. *Child Psychiatry* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1935), pp. 247-60, 329-30.

III

- GARTLAND, RUTH. *Psychiatric Social Service in a Children's Hospital* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 26-54, 91-105.
- HAMILTON, GORDON. *Theory and Practice of Social Case Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), chap. iv, pp. 61-88.

⁴ See bibliography, Sec. I and Sec. III.





International News Photograph

"THE CHILDREN ARE COMING"

Courtesy of the U.S. Committee for the Care of European Children

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

THE EVACUATION OF REFUGEE CHILDREN OUR RESPONSIBILITY

FEW problems have aroused more widespread interest than plans to find American homes for British children and for refugee children from other countries who can be brought here. This interest has not been confined to the social welfare organizations but has come, quite spontaneously, from various groups in the community ranging from the employees of certain large factories, who wish to give homes to children of men employed by the same companies in their British plants, to the members of the American Association of University Women, who wish to give homes to children of British university women.

The United States Committee for the Care of European Children under the vigorous chairmanship of Mr. Marshall Field, III, has been faced with many difficult social problems in attempting to help the British children who can no longer be given safety and security in their own homes. Very careful work is being planned with the help of the United States Children's Bureau to insure an infallible national register of these children and to arrange for inspection and supervision of the homes offered so that the welfare of the children will not be a matter of accident or luck, with some faring badly and others being happily located, but with homes of approved standards for all.

The plans for this great national movement to give generous help to child victims of war conditions have been developing for several months. In June, when Great Britain was threatened by the spread of "total war" across the Channel and a possible invasion of England, the plan to provide safe overseas homes for British children was received with enthusiasm in this country. The original plan came in the offers from the British dominions, and Mr. Attlee, Labor party leader now in the War Cabinet, announced in the House of Commons in June that on the basis of offers then received from the dominions about twenty thousand children could be sent off immediately, of whom ten thousand would go to Canada and the others to Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

An "Inter-departmental Committee on Evacuation Overseas" was charged with the duty of preliminary discussions with the dominion governments and the establishment of the necessary machinery for the

evacuation of children to the dominions as "a matter of the utmost urgency."

The Inter-departmental Committee had drafted, and the government had approved, the proposed plans within a fortnight (see *London Times*, weekly ed., June 26, 1940). The evacuation scheme was to be confined to unaccompanied children of all classes above five and under sixteen years



E. H. Shepherd in "Punch"

GANGWAYS OF EMPIRE

of age, to the cost of whose maintenance parents would contribute according to their ability. Mothers were not to be allowed to accompany their children except in the case of war widows. The Committee also held out hope of safety for Allied refugee children who were in Great Britain. A small administrative board under Mr. Geoffrey Shakespeare, parliamentary undersecretary for the dominions, as chairman, was assisted by an advisory council "largely composed of unofficial experts in the migration, education, and care of children."

Mr. Marshall Field, the indefatigable chairman of the American Committee, explained the plans of his Committee in a letter to the *New York Times* on July 9. Mr. Field's letter included the following statement:

Americans are asked to give homes to these refugee children during the emergency.

The placing of children in homes will be the responsibility of the local child welfare agency in each community that will co-operate with us. Child placement is a professional responsibility. Our task as a committee is to get the money needed to care for these children until the local agencies place them in American homes. Each child will be placed only after thorough study of all factors. If any placement turns out unhappily, after a reasonable trial, there will be ways of changing the placement.

We all realize that taking a child involves a considerable and continuing obligation. However, one of the major services of our committee will be the financial assistance which we hope to give to American families anxious to make a home for one of these children but not able to do so without any help from the committee.

The great immediate objective is to raise our \$5,000,000 emergency fund to shelter and transport the children to their homes. There will undoubtedly be many moments of real sacrifice on the part of the Americans giving homes to these children. As an organization we are going to do everything we can to assure that the burden will be as easily borne as possible.

A serious question to be faced by British parents and by all interested persons was whether these children could be brought safely across the seas. Could Great Britain, engaged in a life-and-death struggle for preservation, spare the ships to convoy the child refugee ships? On July 16 in the House of Commons Mr. Attlee, speaking for the British government, told the House of Commons of the government's decision to postpone the evacuation of children to the dominions and the United States, owing to the fact that the Admiralty could not spare the warships to convoy the liners taking the children.

The situation became more threatening after the "Arandora Star" was sunk while taking German and Italian prisoners to Canada. Mr. Attlee said this incident had proved that speed was not good enough to guarantee safety. Consequently, he added, the government could not take the responsibility for sending evacuation ships that were not accompanied. Mr. Attlee said that a few children would be sent to the dominions in ships that would normally be convoyed for other purposes, but, while he expressed the gratitude of the government for offers of hospitality from the United States and the dominions, he held out little hope of any great mass

movement of children unless the military situation improved considerably and the fear of invasion was lifted from the nation.

There was protest from all sides of the House of Commons over this decision of the government, and the temper of the House was indicated by the following question asked by one of the members:

Is Mr. Attlee aware that there is great resentment in my own part of the country after what children without shelter have gone through when they read that children of responsible public men, who were appealed to by the Prime Minister to show an example, were being taken away from danger while poor children were being left?

What might be called Part Two of the refugee children's movement lies in the field of official action in the United States. Four measures were introduced into Congress in July: (1) a joint resolution by Mr. Havenner (H.J. Res. 580) on July 3; (2) a bill by Mr. Celler (H.R. 10214) on July 22; (3) a bill by Mr. Hennings (H.R. 10213) likewise on July 22; and (4) a bill by Senator Glass (S. 4205) on July 24. All of these measures were introduced with the object of facilitating the admission and transportation of refugee children to the United States.

Meanwhile, the United States Committee for the care of European Children was successful on Saturday, July 13, in persuading the government to relax American visa restrictions and individual support guaranties. On July 16 the United States Committee was notified by cable from London that the evacuation of children, which the British government had suspended as too risky without convoys, would be taken over in London by an American Committee for the Evacuation of British Children.

This Committee was formed in London under the auspices of the American ambassador to work with the official British Children's Overseas Reception Committee, which originally had charge of the evacuation; and also to work with the quasi-official United States Committee here. The London Committee of Americans has been taking up the steamship space booked for several thousand children under the suspended British official operations. The first children on the United States Committee affidavits arrived during the third week in August and about a thousand were expected before September 1.

On August 7 the House of Representatives by voice vote adopted the Hennings' Amendment to the Neutrality Act, which would permit the dispatch of American ships to Europe to transport refugee children out of the war zone. The bill was passed by the Senate on August 19.

Opposition by a group of congressmen on the ground that the United

States might be drawn into war if any tragedy occurred during the ocean voyage was overwhelmed by a nonpartisan vote.

The Hennings Amendment applies to children under sixteen years of age and requires that safe conduct assurances be given by all belligerents



Fitzpatrick in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

WHERE EVERY AMERICAN CAN HELP

before American ships enter the war zone. It also requires that the American flag be painted on both sides of the vessels and on the deck as a warning to ships and airplanes of warring nations.

Some extracts from the debate in the House of Representatives on

August 7 are given here because we think some of our readers will be interested in the general statement of the case both from those who were friendly and the few who were opposed.

FROM THE *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*, AUGUST 7, 1940

MR. HENNINGS. . . . We all know that our people want to be permitted, through voluntary action, to give temporary homes to thousands of helpless children who are today confined in the temporary fortress of Great Britain. We all know that our people want to shelter them and care for them under peaceful American skies, and at the same time to do this legally, with all possible assurance of safety to these children and with no risk of our becoming involved in war.

At the present time no American citizen, no matter how much he may wish to do so, may send for a child from the British Isles. This is because there is contained in our Neutrality Act a provision which gives the President authority to define what is known as combat areas, and forbids any American citizen or ship to proceed into or through any such combat areas. Of course, the waters surrounding Great Britain have been declared by the President to be such a combat area under the authority given him. We have now embraced in the act an exception to this provision relating to combat areas, permitting Red Cross ships, under assurances of safe conduct, to take Red Cross workers, doctors, medical supplies, food, and clothing into the war zone for the relief of human suffering. This section now needs immediate amendment to permit also the bringing of children from places of danger into the United States. I do not think there is any difference between the relief of civilian suffering and the saving of children's lives as a matter of human principle. Our Neutrality Act was never intended to prevent such measures of mercy.

There has been some discussion about this business of permitting our own ships to go abroad to bring these children back, and the question has been raised as to why England cannot herself do this. The fact of the matter is that British ships are not available, nor are British war vessels available to convoy them. . . . England is using every available ship, including pleasure craft, in her back-to-the wall fight for life. Even if British ships were available, they would of necessity fly the British flag and, whether under convoy or not, would be subject to attack and possible destruction.

The permissive amendment proposed in H. R. 10213 is simple and easily understood. It provides that to do this job the section of the Neutrality Act forbidding entrance of American ships into danger zones be liberalized, as was done in the case of the Red Cross ships, and that American vessels unarmed and not under convoy be permitted to enter into such zones for the purpose of transporting, from any countries, refugee children under 16 years of age who are fleeing from war zones, provided such vessel is proceeding under safe conduct granted by all of the states now classed as belligerents.

This does not mean that the Government of the United States, on its own responsibility or at cost to the taxpayers of this country, proposes to send our ships to England or any other place. It does mean that generous and charitably disposed individuals and groups may, upon their own initiative, charter American vessels for this purpose. It does not mean that we are going to change or alter our immigration laws. It does mean that these children are to be allowed to enter this country as visitors under visitors' permits and not as immigrants under the immigration quotas.

This proposed amendment provides further that these American ships are to have painted distinctly and unmistakably on each side an American flag and the statement that such vessel is a refugee children's ship of the United States, and they are to be fully lighted by night so that there can be no mistake as to their identity. . . . The American people have shown in an overwhelming variety of ways that they want not a few, but large numbers of British children brought here for the duration of the war. Nearly every large city in the country has a group who are offering their homes to these children. These offers are coming from homes of every kind. A surprisingly large number come from homes where the family income is barely enough to sustain the household itself. Some offers are coming from homes where the taking of a child will entail personal sacrifice by the members of the family. . . . People who are willing to make not just an heroic gesture and to furnish lip service, but who are willing to give up their own comforts and luxuries. . . .

In any discussion of this subject, however, I think three things must be borne in mind. First, this is not a movement for rich English children. It is for children—rich and poor alike. The selection of British children for evacuation lies in the hands of the British Government whose policy as expressed in Parliament, provides for absolute impartiality in dealing with the question, without regard to influence or position. That is one thing to remember.

The second thing to remember is that while American citizens are sending for the children in the British Isles, the responsibility for their safety lies primarily in the hands of the British Government which is responsible to the English mothers of these children. The third thing to remember is that all American ships chartered for the purpose of going to the British Isles, or to any other country, should the theater of war change, and bringing the children, must do so under the terms of this amendment, under rules and regulations prescribed by our own Department of State. There can be no haphazard evacuation of the British children. . . . This amendment is, so to speak, simply and solely an act to enable our own passenger ships, privately chartered and now idle for the most part, to be used in this humanitarian endeavor. . . . Moreover, these ships are to go over in ballast, carrying no cargo of any kind. The cash-and-carry clause of our neutrality law was intended to avert our possible involvement in war through the sending of an American ship alleged to be carrying contraband. Certainly, children are not, under any construction of the word "contraband."

A few hundred children—children of the rich and of the poor, of soldiers and peers, sailors, seamen, and factory workers, are beginning to arrive. Behind them are 200,000 more who could be loaded immediately on shipboard if there were ships to carry them. With America aiding, real evacuation is not an impossible task. The greatest need is ships, and this modification of our law will permit some of the many vessels now in our ports to be used. . . . In this heart breaking world, millions of Americans are wondering what they can do to uphold the banner of freedom, democracy, and humanity. . . .

MRS. O'DAY. . . . I feel I am voicing the plea of the majority of women and men in these United States, for since the Committee for Mercy Ships for Children was first organized—and that was only 3 weeks ago—it has been flooded with letters and telegrams from all sections of the country, thousands and thousands of them, offering help, money, and homes to the children.

The homes will be supplied and supervised by the United States Committee for the Care of European Children under Marshall Field, in cooperation with Miss Katharine Lenroot and the Children's Bureau. With the Women's Committee for Mercy Ships lies the responsibility of securing American ships in which to transport the 32,000 children whose parents have signified willingness to suffer this temporary separation from them. . . . It is only by means of American funds and ships that they will be able to reach the haven of these United States.

And this haven must be gained. It is unthinkable that little children should be left to suffer and perish should that threatened annihilation overtake their country, when we have ships and money with which to rescue them and fail to do so. One can realize the anguish of parents who must weigh the relative danger of the perils of an ocean crossing in these fearful times of war and the perils of invasion by a ruthless enemy. If they are willing to trust these most precious of cargoes to our ships and to our care, surely we have the courage to assume any risks that may accrue to our country. . . .

MR. VORYS of Ohio. . . . I believe that the safeguards contained in this bill will be sufficient, although this bill is fraught with great possibilities for international involvement.

Here is the reason I am going to vote for the bill. This is a typical, American . . . gesture. In a world filled with war and hatred, I am glad to see our nation, even at some risk, take steps that are in the direction of peace and friendship.

Now, what will happen if this bill passes? We will put Germany on the spot just as the bill we passed for \$50,000,000 for Red Cross relief . . . has put England on the spot. We will now find out whether the starvation and the bombing of women and children are a necessary part of the conflict that is going on over there.

I cannot conceive that either of the belligerents would grant a safe conduct under circumstances that would not be beneficial to it, unless the other belligerent would turn around and grant a similar safe conduct under circumstances

which would be beneficial to that belligerent. Therefore we are going to smoke out the fundamental humanitarian intentions of the belligerents by this bill and by the prior one that we passed. That will be a good thing. It will also be a good thing that we announce to the world once more that America is a humanitarian, a kindly and friendly nation toward little children and toward people in distress. We may have advantage taken of our generosity. We will attempt to prevent it, but it seems to me that in such times it is worthwhile. . . .

MR. CRAWFORD. Do I understand the gentleman to say something like this, that Germany, for instance, is not likely to give her consent to such transfer of refugee children unless England in turn gives her consent that we may send ships to Germany, in the event starvation becomes imminent there, as a result of the British blockade, so that German refugee children may be brought to the United States?

MR. VORYS of Ohio. That is one possibility. The other is that Germany may refuse safe conduct to these ships which bring away English refugee children unless and until England gives safe conduct to have ships go to Belgium and to France, and we in turn would not send those food ships unless we had additional guaranties from Germany that the food supplies would go to refugees who need them.

MR. CRAWFORD. And if we do send food ships to Germany under such an agreement we run contrary to our parallel action in helping England enforce the embargo against Germany and the axis, for instance. In other words, we run contrary to our proposed hemisphere agreement, which is now before us asking for half a million dollars.

MR. VORYS of Ohio. We have to do some thinking on this proposition that it is just as brutal to starve little children as it is to bomb them any place in the world, and we have to think through the implications that go with that thought. . . .

MR. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of this bill, and I am for it because I believe that it is in keeping with our Christian American traditions. I cannot for the life of me become aroused about the implications made here of the dangers with which this bill is fraught in the possibility of one of our ships being mined when bringing some of these children over here. We have appropriated billions of dollars for defense, and we are going to appropriate more money for defense. We have allotted money to be sent over to these belligerent nations for the Red Cross to take care of the suffering over there, and we have shipped airplanes and other implements of warfare to some of the belligerents with which men, women, and children, and all of the people in other countries, will be slain. Certainly it is in keeping with American ideals in giving aid and in assisting people throughout the world who are in danger. In voting for this bill we serve notice on the world that this country is not interested in anything except good will, and in promoting good will among men. I do not believe we want the rest of the world to get the impression that we are a Shylock, and I

do not want our people to get that view. This is not going to cost the American Government any money. It is not going to cost us anything. . . .

MR. SMITH of Ohio. The gentleman has made the statement that this will cost this country nothing. Is it not a fact that Katharine Lenroot of the Labor Department appeared before the Appropriations Committee this morning and asked for \$124,000 to administer this movement?

MR. BENDER. The gentleman makes the point that Katharine Lenroot of the Labor Department has asked for \$124,000. On the basis of our appropriation of \$69,000,000 for a dam at T.V.A. and on the basis of our appropriation of billions for defense and our appropriation for ships to send to some of the belligerents, that is almost nothing. What is a mere \$124,000 as compared with billions of dollars we appropriated last week? In fact, that bill went through this House like a cat goes through a dog show. . . .

MR. VAN ZANDT. The gentleman was mentioning the possible cost. If we have to take the word of . . . Hitler guaranteeing safe passage, and if we know him, he may break his promise, and if a ship is sunk, carrying all these children, you can imagine our country going right into war. Then it will be the cost of war. . . .

MR. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. . . . I am for the bill because . . . I believe it is in the interest of humanity and I do not believe that it compromises our rights as a neutral, or affects our neutrality. It treats refugee children of all countries alike, and provides our ships shall not go into danger zones unless in advance they are granted safe conduct by all of the belligerents.

I think I know something about the neutrality legislation on the statute books and the previous laws we have written. This bill was not brought in without a hearing by the Foreign Affairs Committee. Exhaustive hearings were held at two different sessions of the committee. At the conclusion of the hearings the committee unanimously reported it out. I think it is one of the few bills in recent years that has come from our committee with an entirely unanimous vote. In order to be sure that the vote was unanimous—there was no demand for a roll call—at my suggestion I asked the chairman to have a raising of the hands of those present. . . . Every member present raised his hand. . . .

MR. ROBSON of Kentucky. . . . The report on this bill is very incomplete, and the House has very little information before it as to what this measure means. The bill on its face would permit all of the children under 16 years of age in Italy, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France, Norway, and Great Britain to be brought to this country in American ships.

While some of the proponents urge that only a handful would come, yet as matter of fact it would permit millions to come. There is no limitation whatsoever in the bill as to numbers or as to nationalities. It is said that the bill does not amend our immigration laws. I insist that it does. One of the proponents said we could bring in children from China under this bill. Under our immigration laws Chinese nationals have no right to come to this country as temporary or permanent immigrants. As a matter of fact, in my opinion, the proponents

of this bill are thinking alone of the refugee children of Great Britain. We have no information before us as to the need of bringing these children into the United States. There is nothing said about their financial condition or whether in the end they would become charges on the people of the United States. If we are about to take a long, big step amending the immigration laws of this country, we ought to know it. If we permit 50,000 or 100,000 to come in under this bill in contravention of our present immigration laws, as the war progresses will we, under its terms, admit tens of thousands or perhaps a million others? . . .

Of course, we know . . . that there will be no refugees from Germany, nor from Italy. We are going to take sides with Great Britain. No other ship can go to these warring nations and bring children unless Germany, Italy, England, France, and other warring nations agree. I think it is an idle gesture because the chances are that Germany and Italy having no refugees will not agree to this proposition. . . .

MR. HINSHAW. . . . The proponents seem to indicate that we are proposing to take care of a large percentage of these children. . . . Let us not fool ourselves on that point. Would it not be something like only one-fourth or one-half of 1 per cent of all the children exposed to shot and shell in England?

MR. ROBSON of Kentucky. That is the point. It has never been made clear to me why we should reach out and take care of one-half of 1 per cent of the refugee children of Great Britain and neglect the other 99½ per cent or ignore Belgium, France, Holland, and all. . . . There are other questions.

All sorts of propaganda has been and is now being used in this country in order to get us into war on the side of Great Britain. Is it the purpose in bringing these British children here and scattering them over the United States to create another great source of propaganda to involve us in the European war?

Our present neutrality laws that were urged upon the Congress by the President and his administration forbid American ships to enter the waters of these warring nations. This bill amends our neutrality laws to permit American ships to go into these waters to bring refugee children to the United States to be cared for by American families who are willing to take the children, provided each and all these warring nations agree that this be done. In other words, Italy and Germany must agree that these ships may enter the harbors of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, and so forth, and no nation will molest the ships or the children.

Now it is generally understood that Germany and Italy have no refugee children. It is reasonable to suppose that Germany and Italy will agree for the United States to take care of the refugee children of Great Britain and thereby shift this burden of food and clothing for the children to the United States?

And no one yet has told us what refugee children are. Are they children of families driven out of Germany, Italy, Poland, and other countries into Great Britain, or are they the children of British subjects? It is urged that these children be brought from Great Britain to escape the dangers of war. I assume that there are least 10,000,000 children under 16 years of age living in Great Britain.

Why bring a handful, as some say, to escape the dangers of war and leave the 10,000,000 other children behind if they are the children of British subjects? It has never yet been answered how many are to come, what is their nationality, or why should some come and 99½ per cent remain behind. Is the whole thing propaganda, or will they come in great numbers, and what arrangements will there be to protect these children, this year and for a year or 5 years if the war should continue that long? How and when are they to return to their own country? We have been unable to get answers to these questions. . . .

Our Navy depends upon its merchant marine and this is simply a plan to use the American merchant marine to augment the British navy and the British merchant marine.

You are going to have the American flag painted on the sides of these ships. You are going to British harbors because that is where you are going to get your refugees, if you get any. Now, something is liable to happen to one of those ships. The papers today carry the report that one of these child refugee ships was sunk or lost somewhere. Now you let one of these American ships over there in the war zone get sunk with a lot of children on the ship, and we know at once that there will be a great flare-up of denunciation, intense hatred and feeling toward Germany which would inflame the American people and push us closer and closer to this war precipice on which we are standing today. Why should the United States take that chance? Some people here want to take care of them, you say. Why, you have millions of children here in America today in worse shape than those you seek to bring here. Why not let your humanitarian spirit run riot a little while and take care of these little, hungry, deserted orphans and the starving and naked children here in America, because in reading that old Book of Books you will find that it points out "He that provideth not for his own household has denied the faith and is worse than an infidel." This could get us into that war.

I am opposed to the intervention of this Nation in the European-Asiatic-African war. If we become involved in that war, with \$50,000,000,000 of direct and indirect debts and obligations of this Government today, it will mean the complete bankruptcy of this country, a complete overturn of our economic, social, and political life, a tremendous lowering of our standard of living, and it would mean a great loss of life of the flower of the young manhood of this country, it would mean hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans, and worst of all, in the end we would likely lose our own freedom and liberty.

It is our first duty as the chosen representatives of the American people to protect our own country and the rights and interests of our own children and people. I am unwilling to take any step that will likely lead this country into war.

I wonder what plan would be used to select the handful of British children, leaving millions of other British children as well as millions of children in France, Belgium, Holland, Poland, and Norway behind? The children in those countries have suffered and will suffer because of the ravages of this war, but Great Britain, believing it is to her own interest, has adopted a blockade, the purpose

of which is to starve her enemies into submission. It is not for me to criticize this policy of Great Britain, but by reason of this policy, according to reports, an innumerable host of children and adults will perish because of the lack of the necessities of life. Great Britain thinks this policy is necessary to protect her national life and her people and weaken Germany.

It is my understanding that President Roosevelt and his administration do not favor sending food to the needy people in the countries conquered by Germany because it would nullify the blockade policy of Great Britain and help Germany. This policy is not dictated by humanity—it is one of the cruel necessities of war.

The European nations have not been able through the centuries to solve their disputes. We found through bitter and costly experience in the last World War that we could not settle their age-old quarrels for them. My first and deepest concern is to save this country from the horrors of another World War.

Great Britain has many dominions—Canada, Australia, South Africa, and others. What refugees, if any, have these dominions received from the British Empire?

We have already suffered much from this war. I hope that it will not break down our immigration laws, with our ten to twelve million unemployed industrial workers and with 20,000,000 people demanding some form of relief in our own country. No cause could appeal to us more strongly than to aid distressed innocent children who are not responsible for the war. We should insist, however, in knowing something about this whole matter. Will this break down our immigration laws, is it propaganda, and will it likely involve us in the European war?

This is an unusual and extraordinary proceeding for this country. I know of no other neutral country in the world that has taken a similar course. . . .

I am unwilling to throw down the bars of our immigration laws or to take steps that will likely involve our country in war by sending our ships into these war zones. We remember the *Maine*. It was in Cuban waters in the war between Cuba and Spain. The *Maine* was blown up. Many persons insist that some daring Cubans blew up the *Maine* in order to get the United States into that war on the side of Cuba. The seas are full of floating mines and submarines. Within the last 2 months German submarines, by mistake, destroyed a British transport which was carrying hundreds of German prisoners to Canada. Another submarine blew up a ship that was carrying French soldiers who had surrendered back to France. They thought the sea was clear and they had safe conduct. I again pose the question, What if one of these American ships loaded with refugee children should be accidentally torpedoed or blown up by these magnetic mines or some daring persons, anxious to create sentiment against Germany, should intentionally torpedo or blow up the ship? It would be blamed on Germany or Italy, and our people would be swept into a war frenzy, and we might find ourselves involved in that war overnight. In that event our own children and our own country would be scourged by war.

May I again urge in the consideration of this measure, as one of our colleagues said today, to stop, look, and listen, and above all things, to do some deep thinking. . . .

MR. IZAC. Mr. Chairman, I do not believe there is any danger of our having trouble with the immigration laws as the gentleman from Kentucky . . . seems to visualize. The British quota is 65,000 a year, and they have about 50,000 yet for this year. They could take over all the little children under that quota without having a visitor's visa or permit. However, this does not apply merely to British children. You may remember when Norway was invaded, that several Norwegian families migrated to England. Likewise, thousands of Holland and Belgian and French children went to England. This would permit the evacuation of those children as well as British children if this legislation becomes law. And also of children from all the warring nations.

Many of our people do not like the idea of our taking foreign children when there is distress and suffering in this country, but I really believe that where there are families who want to adopt these children, or at least have them as visitors for 6 months or a year, it certainly is a humanitarian thing to do to permit them to come over here and have these families take them, especially as it applies to British children. They speak the same language as we do, and therefore it is not such a terrible thing to take them away from their families, and give them this little vacation.

Other members of the staff of the United States Committee, in addition to Mr. Marshall Field, III, are Mr. Eric H. Biddle, executive director, Miss Elsa Castendyck, who has been loaned by the United States Children's Bureau, and Mrs. Mary Denman.

There are approximately two hundred thousand children in England whose parents have signed applications asking that they be sent to America or the British dominions. The New York Committee continues to be hopeful that some method will be found of bringing these children safely over seas.

FAMINE OVER EUROPE

SOCIAL workers who shared in and who remember the conditions in Europe for which the American Congress appropriated more than \$100,000,000 for relief purposes after the last war have read with growing apprehension the accounts of probable famine conditions in Europe during the coming winter. How real is the danger of starvation and suffering in the occupied countries of Europe and among the civilian populations of the countries at war? Social workers know that the people who will bear the brunt of the suffering will often be the relatives of our clients here at home—those who suffer privations in peacetime will bear the brunt of

the suffering in wartime. Mr. John Cudahy, the ambassador to Belgium, recently described the probable situation there by early fall as "very, very serious." Former President Herbert Hoover has made the following comment: "There are 18,000,000 persons in Belgium, the Netherlands, Poland, and Norway who are going to die unless food is gotten to them at once. There is no use mincing words."

There is evidence that Germany has stripped the occupied countries of their food reserves and shipped these supplies into the Reich, and it is argued, convincingly, that the feeding of these peoples now would be directly aiding Germany. A very good statement presenting this point of view was recently made in an editorial (*New York Times*, August 13) in which we were told, on the one hand, of "a natural humanitarian instinct to give relief, plus a conviction, in this case, that democracy in Europe may be lost forever if the people of such good democracies as Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands and, in the long run, France, are permitted to go under." But we are also told that "Britain alone is now fighting to re-establish the independence of these very countries, and that the blockade is one of the few strong weapons in Britain's hands." Those who support this view of the dangers of our undertaking relief work at the present time in German-occupied countries are as much moved about the plight of the people in those countries and as anxious to relieve this suffering as are those in the other group. But those who caution us against the grave consequences of sending relief to those now under the dictators believe that the only hope of rescue is to condemn them to endure their period of suffering without relief until the dictators can be defeated. These countries, we are told, "will never again know freedom unless Germany is defeated, and the defeat of Germany depends in large measure on the success of the blockade."

With regard to the Hoover relief plan a thoughtful comment is as follows:

Before this plan is condemned on the ground that it fails to appreciate the difficulty of the British position and promises to play into German hands by weakening the blockade, the character of the proposals made by Mr. Hoover ought to be clearly understood. It is true that he asks Britain to permit ships carrying food for relief to pass the blockade. But he asks that this be done only "so long as" certain guarantees, which he specifies, are fulfilled. The most important of these guarantees, aside from the provision of machinery to make certain whether the guarantees themselves are in fact observed, would consist of pledges on the part of Germany not only to take none of the domestic crops of the occupied countries, but also "to furnish an equivalent of any food already taken."

If this plan were accepted in principle by Britain, the result would be to put Germany's good faith to a test at once. Is Hitler ready to restore to Denmark, the Netherlands and France the food which he has requisitioned or "bought" with paper marks? Is he prepared to make good, at the expense of his own people, the deficiencies he has created? Possibly not, for access to supplies of food was one of the purposes of his invasion. But in this case the onus of the moral responsibility for the hardships caused by the British Blockade would be placed where it belongs: on the shoulders of a German Government which had rejected an undeniably fair proposal. Hitler and Goebbels would find it difficult in such circumstances to accomplish a purpose at which they are plainly driving now—the alienation of American sympathy from Britain, on the ground that a "cruel" Britain is starving even her friends in Europe.

But we do not forget that while these discussions are going on, the situation in Europe is becoming increasingly threatening. Old people, women, and children, the helpless victims of this whole catastrophe, are the ones who will soon be suffering from the serious effects of prolonged malnutrition. We are face to face with a very real problem of which the people of this country will hear more during this coming fall.

ARE OUR SETTLEMENT AND REMOVAL LAWS UNCONSTITUTIONAL?

THE provisions of the state poor laws regarding questions of settlement, in so far as they affect either the denial of relief or the removal of the applicant for relief, have been a subject of controversy ever since there have been any poor laws. Quite recently these archaic settlement provisions have been challenged as unconstitutional before the higher courts of the states of New York and Illinois in cases that have been widely reported in the newspapers.

In New York the Court of Appeals by a four-to-three decision came to the conclusion¹ that a shoemaker (Rosario M. Chirillo) and his family, who moved into New York State less than a year ago from Ohio, could be removed from New York and returned to Ohio. This decision will inevitably remind the student of American history of a case decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1856² in which it was held that the Negro Dred Scott, who had been taken by his owner into a free state from a slave state suffered no wrong (*trespass vi et armis*) when his former owner laid his hands first upon the person of Dred Scott himself, then upon his wife and children, to transfer Dred Scott and his family from the place in which he had chosen to reside into the jurisdiction in which slavery pre-

¹ *New York Times*, July 25, 1940, p. 19.

² *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 (19 Howard).

vailed. It is not intended to suggest that civil war will be the result of the Chirillo case. But it is to be hoped that the case will be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States and that Mr. Chirillo may be held capable of deciding upon his own residence and remaining in the New York area if he wishes to do so.



Pittsburgh in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

AMERICA'S OWN REFUGEES

Here in the Chirillo case is the important point of the possible violation of the constitutional right of Chirillo, who as a citizen of Ohio and of the United States is certainly entitled under the Constitution of the United States (Art. IV, sec. 2) "to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." And here is the absolutely unanswerable logic of the demand of those who insist that the time has come for the establishment of a federal authority that will be responsible for the persons without settlement in the jurisdiction where they choose to live.

In the June issue of this *Review* some cases were given to illustrate the increasing difficulties that have arisen in Chicago from the attempted enforcement of the 1939 three-year-settlement amendment to the Illinois

Poor Law. The funds of the private family-welfare societies have been seriously depleted by the urgent relief needs of families who had every reason to think they had a right to public relief in Chicago but who were denied relief under the rigid interpretation of the three-year-residence amendment by the Attorney-General's office. A test case was finally planned and the cost of appeal to the courts was underwritten by the executive secretary of the United Charities of Chicago, Joel D. Hunter, and the executive secretary of the Jewish Charities of Chicago, Samuel A.



John Groth in "P.M."

AIM IN SOME OTHER DIRECTION

Goldsmith. Competent counsel were able to get a hearing before the Illinois Supreme Court of a petition for mandamus against Mr. Lyons, executive secretary of the Relief Commission, on a petition of five persons who had been denied relief by the C.R.A. although they had been long-time residents of Chicago and Illinois and were clearly not eligible for relief anywhere else. The petition for mandamus set out at length the arguments of counsel, showing that the 1939 three-year-settlement amendment was unconstitutional under both the state constitution and the Constitution of the United States.

The three-year provision was said to be discriminatory against one group of citizens in that it is not based on a reasonable classification of the citizens whose rights are involved.

The petitioners argued (1) that, historically, the principal right of the poor is settlement. This has become a matter of argument and contro-

versy between communities as to which one is responsible, but there has always been the principle that some community is responsible; (2) that the state cannot disable itself by law from discharging any fundamental duty, least of all its duty to keep the most unfortunate of its citizens from starving; (3) that the General Assembly by its 1939 amendment to the Poor Law, for the first time in the history of this state's care of the poor, has defined a very large group of poor persons, its own citizens, who it is illegal for *any* public body to feed.

The situation of the five client petitioners will perhaps be of interest to the reader:

1. One head of a family was born in Chicago and had lived in Chicago continuously during his whole life, fifty-seven years, except for seven months in 1936-38 when we was working in Capac, Michigan. This period of seven months, according to the C.R.A. interpretation of the three-year settlement law, prevented him from receiving relief in Chicago. Obviously he could not go back to Capac and expect to be given relief there.

2. The second petitioner was born in Chicago and had lived in Chicago all his life, except that he was away from the city (but no farther than Oak Forest, also in Cook County) for eight months in 1939-40. Neither he nor his wife had ever resided outside the state of Illinois. The 1939 amendment to the Poor Law made it illegal for either Chicago or Oak Forest to give them relief.

3. The third petitioner was born in McLeansboro, Illinois, in 1909, later lived at Potomac, Illinois, and moved to Chicago in November, 1937, to take a job that was offered to him by a friend. He and his wife have never lived outside the state of Illinois. Under the 1939 amendment he cannot be given relief at McLeansboro, Potomac, Chicago, or anywhere else in the state. The Legislature of Illinois has excluded this family from all poor law benefits.

4. The fourth petitioner was born in Missouri in 1884, came to Chicago nearly thirty years ago, and had never lived outside Cook County since that time. His wife was born in Chicago and had never lived outside Cook County. They moved to Brookfield, in the same county (Cook County) in 1928, and to Cicero, also in Cook County, in 1931, but moved back to Chicago in 1938. Under the 1939 amendment they were declared ineligible for relief in any place where they had ever lived.

5. The fifth petitioner was born in Evanston (also in Cook County) in 1890 and lived there continuously till he was forty-seven years old, in 1937. He then went to Portland, Oregon, to get work but failed to find any and was sent back to Cook County by the Portland relief authorities, late in the same year. Upon his return here he began living in Chicago. Under the 1939 amendment neither Evanston (where he had lived for forty-seven years, from his birth) nor Chicago (where he has lived for two and a half years) may lawfully give him the necessities of life.

These five men could have continued to be eligible for relief by staying idly at home, instead of going out to look for work.

The Illinois Supreme Court has not yet handed down an opinion in this case but, whatever the decision of the Illinois court may be, Mr. Hunter and Mr. Goldsmith and the agencies they represent have rendered an important public service in getting a hearing for this important question.

THE FOOD-STAMP PLAN COMES TO CHICAGO

WITH the coming of the food-stamp plan to Chicago, social workers are watching with interest and, at present, with some reservations to see just what the results will be both in added benefits and added hardships for the great body of public relief clients in this area.

Chicago is the largest of the approximately 125 cities now participating in this system of distribution of surplus foods. The details of the plan are in general the same as those carried out in other cities following the initial experiment in Rochester in May, 1939. The client receives the current food allowance for his family less \$1.00 per person in regular stamps (orange-colored); to these are added an additional number of surplus stamps (blue-colored) equal to one-half the value of his regular stamps. Thus he receives an increased food-purchasing value of 50 per cent. The \$1.00 per person is added to his cash allowance and is for cleaning supplies and other incidentals which were formerly obtained from the food allowance.

Although the client formerly received surplus foods, they varied from month to month and never reached this proportion of food value. There were also many drawbacks to the method of distribution which have been overcome in the present system. Formerly the client had to go once a month to the surplus food depot and there receive a month's supply of those items being disbursed through the warehouse that day. Thus they frequently received foods which they did not know how to prepare or in quantities which were difficult to use. The problem of storage for many clients living in crowded quarters and without sufficient containers or cupboard space was a serious one. The possible spoilage and waste under the old plan will now be entirely avoided as the client can use his blue stamps to buy, at the corner grocery, any item listed as surplus at that time. He can buy the items which he likes and knows how to use and in quantities that can be handled without difficulty. If the problem was only

one of improving the method of distribution of surplus foods, the new system is a vast improvement. But that is not all of the problem.

Chicago has for many months been giving a relief allowance of 80 per cent of the minimum standard budget for food, rent, fuel, and light. With the increase of 50 per cent of surplus food stamps many families are receiving for the first time in years sufficient allowance to buy an adequate or near adequate food supply; in fact, some are receiving as much as 125 per cent to 135 per cent of the minimum food allowance. This varies somewhat with the size and ages of the family group. I am sure there is no social worker who is not glad to see these people receive an adequate and ample food supply, but sufficient food is not the only worry of the family receiving assistance.

Many families have skimped on food in order to pay their rent and avoid a dreaded eviction. It has also been necessary to skimp on food to supply other things equally essential and which are only allowed at the rate of 80 per cent in the budget or not allowed at all by the agency. Now the food allowance is given not in cash but in stamps usable only for one thing, food.

For the family does not receive their cash allowance and have the opportunity to choose whether they will use the cash according to their accustomed methods or buy stamps and thus receive the additional surplus food stamps. The clients are allowed no choice. The stamp plan in Chicago, now that it has been adopted, is compulsory for all clients. Therefore, instead of the former cash payment covering other allowances, they receive a "credit slip" for their food and the check for cash for the other items included in the budget. This "credit slip" must be turned in at another window to get the stamps to be used for food.

Clearly there are here some dangers to the hard-won standard of cash relief, with which, though not adequate, the family could at least have some part in planning for their own situation and in meeting the needs which seemed most pressing to them.

The Surplus Marketing Corporation is interested primarily and entirely in the problem of the moving of surplus foods through the increase of consumption of certain farm products. The Corporation is not concerned with helping Chicago or any other city to solve its inadequate relief problem. Therefore certain rules have been made, not by the relief agency on a basis of the needs of their clients, but by the surplus foods agency to safeguard their purpose.

In other words, there have been established rules that determine the

amount of food that *must* be purchased by each family on the basis of the numbers of persons in the family group. The entire household must be included in the plan or none can receive stamps. Thus grandma who receives an old age pension and lives with a family receiving relief must be included in the family's food stamps. So grandma must supply \$6.00 of her cash pension to be turned in by the family with their credit slip before the family can receive their food allowance. This is equally true of a nonrelated employed person not otherwise considered in the budget but who may be eating at the family table.

Even more complicated and difficult is the situation in which there is an employed family member whose earnings are being supplemented by relief. Here, too, if the supplementation is less than the total estimated food budget, the family must bring the cash to make up the difference between the relief amount and the food budget. This varies, of course, family to family, depending on the earnings, and might vary month to month within any one family if the earnings are irregular.

If the family does not "co-operate" in the stamp plan, there is provision, not for cash, but for a disbursing order for food which is usable at one store only and which of course includes only the 80 per cent food allowance and not the extra "surplus" allowance.

Social workers foresee an increase of client anxieties and real suffering and a possible rent "crisis" under the present policies and restrictions. Large numbers of families have been using the food allowances in the budget to pay higher rent than the budget allows. It is unquestionably so difficult to get decent homes for the rent allowance as to be almost impossible. Will the landlords accept an 80 per cent rental, will the family be able to supply sufficient fuel in the fall and winter on 80 per cent of the minimum standard requirement? If they buy fuel and pay the gas for cooking they have even less than 80 per cent for the rent. Some believe that this "crisis" may force the issue so that the rent problem may be seen in its true seriousness. This may be true, but in the meantime many clients will again bear the uncertainty, the worry and strain, and the deprivation involved in being forced to move due to eviction or other equally effective pressures.

DOROTHY CHAUSSE

THE GRAND RAPIDS CONFERENCES

GRAND RAPIDS now seems very far away, but this is our first number since the conferences which were held this year during the period of grave anxiety, excitement, and apprehension about the European war. The meetings of the Conference were held from May 23 to June 1, while the newspapers carried day by day the story of the impending collapse of the French republic. America, except perhaps in official Washington, still preserves its traditional aloofness from European wars, and the Conference discussions went on from day to day as if the future were assured and secure as usual. Social workers and their clients are always face to face with insecurity of many kinds and varieties.

This was a Conference smaller than is customary for the Middle West, but it was a friendly conference in comfortable surroundings. Perhaps, because it was smaller, it seemed more like the old predepression conferences when it was easy to see and welcome old friends.

At the luncheon under the joint auspices of the Episcopal Social Work Conference and the Church Conference of Social Work, Frances Perkins, secretary of labor, in her address, "Children and the Moral Fiber of the Nation," urged that every child in America be given opportunity for religious education.

The refugee from war-torn Europe was also the subject of much discussion. At one meeting of the Committee on Refugees George Warren of the International Migration Service and secretary of President Roosevelt's committee on refugees, John Rich of the American Friends Service Committee, and Cecelia Razovsky of the National Refugee Service presented the problems which daily become so much greater and more complicated that refugee relief agencies find it impossible to keep abreast of the increasing demands of their services.

Two especially popular and unusually dramatic speakers were Carey McWilliams, chief of the Division of Immigration and Housing of California and author of the very popular book *Factories in the Field*, and Helen Gahagan, stage and screen actress, who is also a member of the Citizens' Committee on the Agricultural Worker. Both spoke at the social action section and at the very successful luncheon meeting of the National Child Labor Committee. The misery to be found among the California migrants, the opposition of industrialized farm interests to any attempt to improve their lot, and the dangers of child labor in industrialized agriculture were very effectively presented.

At the proper time Grace Coyle, president of the 1940 Conference,

handed the gavel to the president for 1941, Miss Jane Hoey,¹ well known everywhere as the director of the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board. The three vice-presidents elected were Dr. Ellen C. Potter of New Jersey, Fred K. Hoehler of Chicago, and John T. Clark of Missouri.

The new chairmen of the various sections include the following: social case work, Leah Feder, St. Louis; social group work, Helen Hall, New York City; community organization, Robert P. Lane, New York City; social action, Lea D. Taylor, Chicago; public welfare administration, Robert T. Lansdale, New York City.

The Conference voted to hold the 1941 annual meeting in Atlantic City, June 1-7. No acceptable invitations were presented for "time and place" for the 1942 meetings, so the matter was left in the hands of the "Time and Place Committee" for a later report to the Executive Committee.

The Delegate Conference of the American Association of Social Workers preceded the National Conference. The Conference sessions were well organized and the retiring president, Mr. Harry Greenstein, was so unbiased as chairman and so genuinely anxious to give all sides a fair hearing that he received a most enthusiastic vote of thanks at the close of the sessions. There were differences of opinion on many points, but the discussion was participated in by chapter representatives from different parts of the country and the belief in the Conference as a democratic policy-making body was shown by the refusal of the delegates to accept the recommendation that was presented for a biennial conference. The annual conference will remain the order of the day. As we go to press the new officers for 1940 have not been announced.²

A proposal to move the national office out of New York to a more central point like Chicago or to Washington, where the influence of the Association might be more far-reaching, was earnestly discussed, but the Conference decided to leave this long subject of controversy for further

¹ See Frontispiece this *Review*.

² This list is now available as follows: Wayne McMillen, president; Pierce Atwater, Frank J. Bruno, and Kenneth L. M. Pray, vice-presidents; Frank J. Hertel, secretary; and James Brunot, treasurer. The national board members are: at large, Mrs. Irene F. Conrad, Lester B. Granger, Sarah H. James, Margaret E. Rich, Mary Stanton, and Elizabeth Wisner; by district, (1) Lillian J. Johnson, (2) Ruth E. Lewis, (3) Eleanor L. Heaton, (4) Louis E. Evans, (5) Aileen K. MacCracken, (6) Margaret Woll, (7) Ora Pendleton, (8) Donald S. Howard, and (9) E. Marguerite Gane.

consideration by the National Board, which will report to the Delegate Conference of 1942.

The most important and most interesting subject of discussion was the Association's platform on public social services. While the platform was officially indorsed, there was a very healthy, active discussion of many points, chiefly on the side of the limitations of the so-called platform.¹ The proposals of the Personnel Practices Committee that the Association advocate a standard that agencies might use in the selection of persons for social-work positions and that written employment policies serve as one criterion of "identifying a social agency of acceptable standards" was also adopted, as was a resolution of the National Membership Committee asking clarification of the Association's by-law on purpose as adopted in 1939, especially as it relates to membership requirements.

SOME NOTES AND NEWS FROM THE SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK

VARIOUS news items relate to the plan of the different member schools of the American Association of Schools of Social Work. First, two new schools were accredited at the business meeting held in Grand Rapids: Howard University School of Social Work, as a one-year school, and Louisiana State University School of Public Welfare, also as a one-year school. At the business meeting special consideration was given to a report on the efforts of the Association to finance a full-time secretarial service, which is considered essential to the maintenance of proper educational standards. There are now forty-one member schools, of which thirty-five were represented at the business meeting. There was unanimous approval of the report of a special committee that the dues be doubled for all the schools and that schools with a registration of more than one hundred students should pay a double membership fee. Dr. Marion Hathway's revised report on the "Schools and the Public Welfare Services" was left in the hands of a special committee for consideration at a special meeting held late in June.

Next, there are news items of interest directly from the old schools. Beginning with the oldest first, the New York School of Social Work has announced its formal affiliation with Columbia University. As a result of the affiliation, future graduates of the school will receive a degree of

¹ For a statement on the discussion of the subject of grants-in-aid for general relief, see the Editor's article in this number of the *Review*, pp. 447-52.

Master of Science from Columbia instead of the diploma in social work previously awarded by the school. The school continues to be a division of the Community Service Society of New York, the organization created last year by the merger of the Charity Organization Society and the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. "The relationship between the school, the university, and the society" is said to be "analogous to the relationship between the Columbia University School of Medicine, Columbia University, and the Presbyterian Hospital."

Chicago reports an interesting summer session with important additional courses given by Dr. Mabel Newcomer of Vassar College on "Financing the Welfare Program" and courses by Dr. Ewan Clague and the regional supervisor, Mr. McCarthy, in social insurance. Mr. McCarthy will repeat the course "Administrative Problems in Social Insurance" during the coming academic year. Mr. Howell Williams, formerly of the Federal Probation Service, becomes an instructor next year. Miss Jeanette Hanford, a graduate of the New York School of Social Work, who has for some time served jointly as a member of the School's supervisory staff and also of the staff of the United Charities of Chicago, has been the general instructor giving courses in case work during the Summer Quarter of 1940 and will also give a course in advanced case work beginning in January, 1941. The School announces a new student loan fund established in memory of James W. Leake¹ (1903-40).

From Simmons College comes a report that an agreement with Tufts College has been completed under which Tufts will grant the degree to men students who have properly matriculated and completed the work for the Master's degree at Simmons. Simmons College at present is free to admit men but cannot offer degrees to men. The Simmons College school also announces an interesting new thesis research policy—that "theses submitted for the master's degree should be the careful recording of current history in a given field rather than mere proof of laborious, if not always fruitful, research." In accordance with this policy a number of candidates for the Degree of Master of Science in social work have undertaken comprehensive objective studies of the state programs for crippled children in their home areas. So far, seven of these studies have been completed, covering Maine, Connecticut, Ohio, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Oregon. The series is to be extended to all states whose authorities will give full co-operation to the students. Three of the studies—those embracing Maine, Connecticut, and Ohio—

¹ See this *Review*, June, 1940, p. 368.

have just been published by Simmons College under the editorship of Dr. Alice Channing, associate professor in the School of Social Work, and formerly attached to the Children's Bureau in Washington. President Beatty of Simmons College announces that it is the intention of the School "to continued this series with studies of other state programs. It is hoped the material collected will be useful to persons interested in the integration of federal and state programs and the opportunities for social service in these programs." Miss Hardwick, director of the School, has said:

We believe that this plan of attempting to write down accurately and factually the present-day work of a given public social agency, without any thought of propaganda, or any effort to evaluate that which would require the light of perspective for proper evaluation, is new. It offers an excellent opportunity for the student to become acquainted with her own state and meet the leaders in her field, since those in authority in the state programs have been most generous in interviewing students, indicating sources, and criticizing material.

Miss Hardwick and Dr. Alice Channing are to be congratulated on this new research program.

The financial campaign of the Pennsylvania School of Social Work is reported to have been successful with an amount raised that will assure the budget for two years. The school has just completed an experimental summer session for executives and supervisors held at Solebury, Pennsylvania.

The College of William and Mary reports that Henry Coe Lanpher, who is just completing the work for his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago School, has been appointed director of the School of Social Work and will assume responsibility February, 1941. Mr. Lanpher has been teaching at Louisiana State University School of Public Welfare.

The University of California Department of Social Welfare announces that Miss Ruth Cooper, A.M., University of Chicago School, 1939, has been appointed to the faculty, with responsibility for the development of a medical social-work program.

The Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Southern California announces two important additions to its faculty. Early in 1941 Mr. Norris Class, A.M., School of Applied Social Sciences of Western Reserve University, and for the last five years well known as director of the Oregon Child Welfare Division, will join the faculty to help develop the curriculum in the field of child welfare. A new curriculum in medical social work will be organized with Miss Harriet Bartlett, formerly of the Massachusetts General Hospital, in charge of the development of the new program. The Southern California School announces that the inter-

related aspects of the curriculum are being stressed, especially for the first graduate year, and the basic courses for the second graduate year have been outlined.

Dean Elizabeth Wisner of the Tulane University School of Social Work announces the appointment of Arthur Parker Miles, Ph.D., University of Chicago School, as assistant professor in charge of social statistics and social insurance. Dr. Miles has had teaching experience at Louisiana State and Missouri State universities.

Word has come from Pittsburgh that the Buhl Foundation has made a generous grant of \$194,740 for a five-year expanded program in social-work training at the graduate level in the University of Pittsburgh School of Applied Social Sciences. It is reported that "the foundation's funds will be used to provide field supervision in group work, fellowships in important divisions of study, a creative arts studio introducing advanced ideas in teaching, and the most complete library among social work schools in America. The new facilities will occupy two whole floors in the Cathedral of Learning."

Boston College has added to its faculty Miss Isabel Devine of the Social Security Board, Public Assistance Division.

The Division of Social Work of Boston University is no longer connected with the School of Religious Education but has been made an independent school of social work, with the dean directly responsible to the president.

NEW SOCIAL-WORK JOURNALS

A NEW professional publication which first made its appearance in June, 1940, is the quarterly *Indian Journal of Social Work*. Edited by the faculty of the four-year-old Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work at Bombay, India, the *Journal* was started to meet the lack of literature on social problems in that country. Social work is still in its infancy in India, but already a small but active group of professional workers have felt the need of a professional journal. In addition to serving as "a medium of expression" for the faculty and students of the school, the *Journal* is designed to encourage original research on the part of other social workers in the country, to report significant advances in the social-work field both in India and abroad, and "to assist in raising the standards of professional social work in India." Judging from the first issue, which is devoted to two aspects of child welfare—children in industry

and juvenile delinquency—there is every evidence that the editors desire to make the *Journal* one of high quality. The format of the *Journal* is very impressive, and the contents include not only the series of child welfare articles but pertinent notes and comments and reviews of professional books.

Another newcomer in the professional field is *Children's Institutions*, a monthly magazine "devoted to every phase of child welfare in institutions." Gordon M. Atkins, editor of the *Journal* and formerly boys' director, Leake and Watts Home School of Yonkers, New York, frankly admits that the first issue of August, 1940, "does not quite measure up to the standard that has been set for the magazine," but points out that a board of consultants, consisting of prominent persons in the child welfare field, will determine future policies as soon as the board is organized.

The *Review* also wishes to call attention to the *Prison World*, the official publication of the American Prison Association and the National Jail Association. Successor to the *Jail Association Journal*, the magazine is published six times yearly for the purpose of bringing about progressive administration of jails, prisons, and reformatories.

THE ATTEMPT TO "EXILE" HARRY BRIDGES

THE case of Harry Bridges is still with us. On June 13, 1940, for the first time in its history, the House of Representatives passed a bill which singled out one individual—Harry Bridges—for expulsion from this country. The Immigration Committee of the House, which considered the bill, held no open hearings,¹ and the measure was passed over the expressed opposition of the Attorney-General of the United States.² The Senate has not yet acted,³ and it is hoped that the bill may not be given

¹ An interesting pamphlet has been issued on *The Bridges Exile Bill*, by the Harry Bridges Defense Committee, 320 Market St., San Francisco. Pp. 8. Price two cents.

² *New York Times*, June 20, 1940; *Chicago Daily News*, August 3, 1940.

³ After this editorial went to press the Senate Immigration Committee voted to report a modified version of the House bill providing for the immediate deportation of Harry Bridges. The Senate Committee version directs the Attorney-General to make an investigation of Bridges and "to proceed with his deportation in the manner provided by law" if the inquiry produces facts justifying such action. The House bill provides for deportation "notwithstanding any other provision of the law."

Secretary Perkins, of course, brought the able Dean of the Harvard Law School into the case in order that she might have the opinion of this distinguished authority in the field of administrative law as to whether or not Harry Bridges was deportable under our law. After hearing the evidence for weeks, Dean Landis thought that Mr. Bridges

Senate approval. It is noteworthy that the bill is opposed by many people who do not like Harry Bridges and would be glad to hear that he had decided to return to Australia. But these men and women are not willing to support an undemocratic measure of this kind. They describe the "Bridges exile bill" as a "bill of attainder aimed at a single individual and as such it is without precedent in the United States." The bill is probably unconstitutional, and, if it is not, it would certainly set a dangerous precedent.

Senator Ashurst has opposed the bill (*New York Times*, July 28, 1940), and Senator Schwollenbach evidently hopes by conciliatory delay to prevent the passage of a measure which recalls the early "Alien and Sedition Acts" with their disastrous effect on the fate of the political party responsible for their enactment. From the discussion in the House of Representatives it is clear that the members of Congress are entirely aware of the constitutional questions involved (*Congressional Record*, LXXXVI [June 13, 1940], 12381).

Attorney-General Jackson (*New York Times*, June 20, 1940), writing to Senator Russell of Georgia, chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration, who had asked for the opinion of the Department of Justice, denounced the action of the House in passing the special deportation bill and said the bill was "arbitrary, a departure from precedent and exiled an individual without giving him a hearing."

The letter from the Attorney-General is so important that we are reprinting a large part of it here. These extracts from Attorney-General Jackson's letter are given below:

It would be the first time that an Act of Congress has singled out a named individual for deportation. It would be the first deportation in which the alien was not even accused either of unlawful entry or of unlawful conduct while here.

It would be the first time that Congress, without changing the general law, simply suspended all laws which protect a named individual and directed the Attorney General to disregard them and forthwith to deport "notwithstanding any other provision of law."

And it would be the first time since the Alien and Sedition Laws a century and a half ago that any law would provide for a deportation without a hearing or without, indeed, the slightest pretense toward giving the accused what our nation has long known as "due process of law."

The extraordinary character of the bill upon its face is even more impressive viewed against its background. This same alien has been accused, investigated

was not deportable under the provisions of the present immigration law. Now apparently Mr. J. Edgar Hoover is to try his hand at proving the West Coast labor leader deportable. There is assurance, however, in the fact that Mr. Hoover's conclusions and the evidence on which they rest must be convincing to Attorney-General Jackson.

and tried at great length, and judgment has been rendered that he had not been proved guilty of the charges made against him. By this bill the United States would deny faith and credit to its own duly conducted legal proceedings.

We have in this country, subject to the jurisdiction of this department, some 3,500,000 aliens. One of our great tasks is to assimilate them into our native culture; this can only be done by a deep respect for our processes and tradition.

How shall we teach this respect if the government itself will not abide by a decision in an individual case, and makes acts whose nature is not specified, but which must have been lawful when done, the basis of deportation without hearing?

What becomes of equality before the law, of the impersonal and impartial character of our government, if it is to select unpopular persons to suffer disadvantage or punishment?

I do not now consider whether such a law would violate the Constitutional prohibition against Congressional enactment of bills of attainder, of ex post facto laws, or the provision of our Bill of Rights which declares that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

I do not now try to determine whether the language of this act would work an unconstitutional suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. Nor do I inquire as to any breach of treaty engagements to render fair treatment to nationals of friendly powers lawfully in this country. The law makes me legal adviser only to the President and the Executive Departments, and my predecessors have held that they could not with propriety also render legal opinion to a separate branch of the government.

But apart from any question of power, I cannot, as head of the department affected by this bill, answer with anything less than emphatic disapproval your request for views upon it.

The Congress has almost unlimited powers over aliens. It has embodied its policies in general laws. If it is convinced, as I am, that recent experiences show the need for additional safeguards, by all means let us have them.

We, who are administratively responsible for dealing with these problems, have advocated greater legislative precautions. But there is no condition, existing or threatened, which needs arbitrary legislation prescribing no rule of conduct, but merely imposing banishment by legislative fiat.

The interests of this service can be best protected by enactment of clear and fair rules of conduct that aliens may know, so that those who obey may be unmolested and those who disobey may be expelled. And let any man be heard in his own behalf before he is doomed to exile.

Harry Bridges may be all that this bill implies of him. But certainly he does not deserve a place in our history as a martyr. He is insignificant compared to the issues presented by this bill. Our forefathers objected to a government where "whatever pleased the Prince had the force of law." The report of the House Committee comes close to reverting to this when it says that deportation "without assigning any reason is inherent and asserted by this bill."

As an American I would not, for the sake of my own liberty, deny the protection of uniform and indiscriminatory laws and of fair hearings to even the humblest or meanest of men. As an official of the United States I cannot in good conscience do other than recommend strongly against this bill.

ALIEN REGISTRATION

SOCIAL workers have always been anxious to protect the rights of our alien residents. In large areas of this country social workers have known these noncitizens well. We have known the immigrants both before and after naturalization and we have known them to be hardworking, loyal men and women, eager to show their interest in, belief in, and admiration of the principles of our government. We know how anxious they have been to become citizens and the hardships they have suffered because of the increasing difficulties and expense of becoming naturalized.¹

Any plan of compulsory registration for aliens has seemed to add new hardships to those who were already carrying heavy burdens, and, to our great regret, compulsory registration has finally come along with the new "defense program." There is nothing for us to do now but hope that the new requirements may be so administered as to save the alien from such humiliations and hardships as can be prevented.

A useful article by Mr. Francis Biddle, solicitor-general of the United States, setting forth the general plans for registration of aliens as provided by the new federal legislation will be found in the August issue of *State Government*.² Mr. Biddle discusses not only the plan for carrying out the new registration policy but also what he believes to be the fundamental purposes of the law. The solicitor-general supports this law as we do not. But we all wish to understand it, and Mr. Biddle's article is helpful for this purpose. Mr. Biddle believes that the compulsory-registration system will in the end be a protection to the loyal alien who would be the subject of suspicion and general hysteria if the matter of dealing with "fifth columns" and other so-called subversive activities were left to the local communities. Emphasis is given to the point that these matters are primarily the concern of the federal government and should not be subjects for local action except in co-operation with the federal government.

Mr. Biddle very properly appeals to the citizen to give friendly aid to the noncitizen by explanation as to the questions to be answered, and when and where he must register. The matter of fingerprinting, to which

¹ See the useful series of articles by Mrs. Rich, director of the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago, in the two preceding numbers of this *Review*, pp. 10-35, 237-82.

² "American-Aliens and the Registration Act of 1940," *State Government*, XIII, 143.

grave objections have always been made by the friends of the immigrant, is regarded by the solicitor-general as the best modern device for making sure, when dealing with large numbers of persons, that the records do not get confused.

This article is a clear, brief statement of the present situation, and it is hoped it may be effective in bringing information to these officials of local units of government in those communities where there is hysteria and a failure to understand the alien in our midst. By the fundamental democratic doctrines of America the loyal noncitizen merits and must have our sympathetic understanding and protection just as much as the person who is guilty of espionage or sabotage, whether he be citizen or noncitizen, should be and will be dealt with under the federal laws dealing with these matters.

Registering and fingerprinting the 3,600,000 aliens in the United States is a vast undertaking which will begin August 27 and should be completed December 26. Mr. Earl G. Harrison, director of the registration, has made public the fifteen detailed questions which noncitizens must answer. While we regret the decision that has led to compulsory registration, earnest efforts are apparently being made to carry out the regulations without penalizing our noncitizens too severely.

CONVICTING THE INNOCENT

NEARLY a decade ago Professor Edwin M. Borchard of Yale University published a volume under this title in which he assembled a number of cases of persons who were found guilty although they were wholly innocent. Neither the Sacco-Vanzetti nor the Mooney case is included in Professor Borchard's volume, but Sacco and Vanzetti had been dead half a decade and their case and that of Mooney had not reflected credit on the criminal law administration of the great commonwealths of Massachusetts and California. Fortunately in the Mooney and Billings cases the death penalty had not been invoked, and the belated pardon of these two falsely convicted prisoners constitutes one bright spot in the record of Governor Olsen. Now another case of mistaken identification recalls Professor Borchard's earlier words of caution. Professor Borchard quoted a district attorney in Worcester County, Massachusetts, who said: "Innocent men are never convicted. Don't worry about it, it never happens. . . . It is a physical impossibility." The Borchard collection¹ of sixty-five cases, selected from a much larger number, was, however, a refutation of this supposition.

¹ *Convicting the Innocent* (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1932), p. v.

Now a case comes from New York. On July 30, 1940, New York District Attorney Dewey found himself compelled to concur in a motion made before the General Sessions by Clyde Dart, a voluntary defender of the New York Legal Aid Society, that the conviction of Max Uchansky be set aside and that the prisoner be set free. The prisoner had been found guilty of robbery with a gun, he had been identified by three of the victims, he had been sentenced as a second offender to serve from ten to thirty years in Dannemora, one of the New York Security prisons, and he had served one year of the term.

The District Attorney was not very gracious. He told the court that the youth "was no lily" but that he, Mr. Dewey, was convinced of his innocence. There was a sister whose persistent effort is held to have been largely responsible for the reversal of judgment. Mr. Dewey in commenting on the fact that the youth was "no lily" said nothing of the probable effect on him of the year's sentence to which he had been unjustly subjected nor of the fact that there is no action for damages against a state for false imprisonment.

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES, THE AMERICAN FLAG AND THE COURTS

SOCIAL workers and liberal commentators have agreed in expressing regret over the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the "flag case" of Jehovah's Witnesses (*Minersville School District et al. v. Gobitis et al.*)¹ that was taken up from the second circuit, where Justice Charles E. Clark had held that the order to salute the flag—an order issued by the Minersville School District—was unconstitutional and that the children need not sacrifice their conscientious scruples at the command of the educational authorities. The opinion of Justice Clark² should be widely read in order that the contrast between his treatment of the conscientious scruples of the young Jehovah's Witnesses, Lillian and Walter Gobitis, ten and twelve years of age when the case was first taken into court, and the treatment of their religious scruples by Mr. Justice Frankfurter may be truly appreciated. Justice Frankfurter refers to their deep-seated attitudes and strongly held scruples as possibly "crotchety beliefs" and somewhat elaborately argues the importance of developing a comprehensive loyalty which may bind men together, whatever their lesser differences and difficulties. This loyalty together with the glorification of patriotic impulses will, he thinks, be engendered by enforced salutes to the flag. The parents of these young protestants may protect their children

¹ 60 Sup. Ct. Reporter 1010 (Vol. 60, No. 15 [June 15, 1940]).

² 108 Fed. Reporter (2d) 683.

from violation of their conscientious scruples by taking them out of school. If they can afford to do so they can, of course, place them in a private school. If they cannot afford this the children would be deprived of the education provided at great cost by the taxpayers of the community, and the community would be deprived of the benefits of that education in the later conduct of those children as adult members of the community.

It might be further noted that, while Justice Frankfurter treats always of legislative authority, the legislature had not acted, and the controversy resulted from an order issued by the local education authorities.

The right of these children that is specially dwelt upon by Justice Clark is, of course, the right of religious freedom, the right not to have their religious scruples ignored. On this subject one statement from Justice Clark's opinion has real significance. "This is an area of government" which, in his words, has "a high aura of conscience"; and he thinks that in this field there is an agreement that "power should yield to principle."

PROBATION RECOGNIZED AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE

A BRIGHT ray of hope is appearing over the dark horizon of the law-enforcing procedures—a ray that finds its source in federal developments. Not all federal developments have seemed promising to social workers concerning the transition in criminal-law purposes from punishment or community protection to treatment looking toward constructive dealing with antisocial behavior. But now an important development may be noted in that probation is being recognized as an administrative undertaking and that probation is separated from parole. On July 1, 1940, in accordance with a statute creating an Administrative Office of the United States Courts and a resolution of the Judicial Conference, the Administrative Office took over the functions connected with probation which had been performed by the Bureau of Prisons in the Department of Justice.

Social workers have great confidence in the development to be anticipated from the Administrative Office that has been created in connection with the United States courts because they know Mr. Henry P. Chandler in connection with the Child Welfare Commission in Illinois, with the Civil Service Reform movement, as well as all social aspects of the organization of the bar. He would be entirely clear as to the true nature of probation as an administrative undertaking, yet he would be realistic in appreciating the steps to be taken in establishing and maintaining the interest of the judges.

SOCIAL WELFARE PLANKS IN THE
PARTY PLATFORMS

FOR the convenience of our readers some of the most important "planks" relating to social welfare in the party platforms of the two major political parties which are of special interest to social workers are listed below. We do not attempt to include all of the planks in which social workers are interested because this would obviously take us too far afield. No comments will be made on the platforms since the *Review* is a nonpartisan journal, and any discussion of the platforms at this time might seem partisan to our readers.

FROM THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM ADOPTED IN
PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 26, 1940

Re-employment.—The New Deal's failure to solve the problem of unemployment and revive opportunity for our youth presents a major challenge to representative government and free enterprise. We propose to re-create opportunity for the youth of America and put our idle millions back to work in private industry, business, and agriculture. We propose to eliminate needless administrative restrictions, thus restoring lost motion to the wheels of individual enterprise.

Relief.—We shall remove waste, discrimination, and politics from relief—through administration by the States with Federal grants-in-aid on a fair and non-political basis, thus giving the man and woman on relief a larger share of the funds appropriated.

Social security.—We favor the extension of necessary old-age benefits on an earmarked pay-as-you-go basis to the extent that the revenues raised for this purpose will permit. We favor the extension of the unemployment compensation provisions of the Social Security Act, wherever practicable, to those groups and classes not now included. For such groups as may thus be covered we favor a system of unemployment compensation with experience-rating provisions, aimed at protecting the worker in the regularity of his employment and providing adequate compensation for reasonable periods when that regularity of employment is interrupted. The administration should be left with the States with a minimum of Federal control.

Labor relations.—The Republican Party has always protected the American worker.

We shall maintain labor's right of free organization and collective bargaining.

We believe that peace and prosperity at home require harmony, teamwork, and understanding in all relations between worker and employer. When differences arise they should be settled directly and voluntarily across the table.

Recent disclosures respecting the administration of the National Labor Relations Act require that this act be amended in fairness to employers and all groups of employees so as to provide true freedom for, and orderliness in, self-organization and collective bargaining.

Government reorganization.—We shall re-establish in the Federal civil service a real merit system on a truly competitive basis and extend it to all non-policy-forming positions.

FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM ADOPTED IN
CHICAGO, JULY 17, 1940

Industry and the worker.—Under Democratic auspices more has been done in the last seven years to foster the essential freedom, dignity, and opportunity of the American worker than in any other administration in the Nation's history. In consequence, labor is today taking its rightful place as a partner of management in the common cause of higher earnings, industrial efficiency, national unity, and national defense.

A far-flung system of employment exchanges has brought together millions of idle workers and available jobs. The workers' right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing is being enforced. We have enlarged the Federal machinery for the mediation of labor disputes. We have enacted an effective wages-and-hours law. Child labor in factories has been outlawed. Prevailing wages to workers employed on Government contracts have been assured.

We pledge to continue to enforce fair labor standards; to maintain the principles of the National Labor Relations Act; to expand employment training and opportunity for our youth, older workers, and workers displaced by technological changes; to strengthen the orderly processes of collective bargaining and peaceful settlement of labor disputes; and to work always for a just distribution of our national income among those who labor.

We will continue our efforts to achieve equality of opportunity for men and women without impairing the social legislation which promotes true equality by safeguarding the health, safety, and economic welfare of women workers. The right to work for compensation in both public and private employment is an inalienable privilege of women as well as men, without distinction as to marital status. . . .

Unemployment.—The Democratic party wages war on unemployment, one of the gravest problems of our times, inherited at its worst from the last Republican administration. Since we assumed office 9,000,000 additional persons have gained regular employment in normal private enterprise. All our policies—financial, industrial, and agricultural—will continue to accelerate the rate of this progress.

By public action, where necessary to supplement private re-employment, we have rescued millions from idleness that breeds weakness and given them a real stake in their country's well-being. We shall continue to recognize the obligation of government to provide work for deserving workers who cannot be absorbed by private industry.

We are opposed to vesting in the States and local authorities the control of federally financed work relief. We believe that this Republican proposal is a thinly disguised plan to put the unemployed back on the dole.

We will continue energetically to direct our efforts toward the employment in private industry of all those willing to work, as well as the fullest employment of money and machines. This we pledge as our primary objective.

To further implement this objective, we favor calling, under the direction of the President, a national unemployment conference of leaders of government, industry, labor, and farm groups. There is work in our factories, mines, fields, forests, and river basins; on our coasts, highways, railroads, and inland waterways. There are houses to be built to shelter our people. Building a better America means work and a higher standard of living for every family and a richer and more secure heritage for every American.

Social security.—The Democratic party, which established social security for the nation, is dedicated to its extension. We pledge to make the Social Security Act increasingly effective by covering millions of persons not now protected under its terms; by strengthening our unemployment insurance system and establishing more adequate and uniform benefits, through the Federal equalization fund principle, by progressively extending and increasing the benefits of the old age and survivors' insurance system, including protection of the permanently disabled, and by the early realization of a minimum pension for all who have reached the age of retirement and are not gainfully employed.

Health.—Good health for all the people is a prime requisite of national preparedness in its broadest sense. We have advanced public health, industrial hygiene, and maternal and child care. We are co-ordinating the health functions of the Federal Government. We pledge to expand these efforts and to provide more hospitals and health centers and better health protection wherever the need exists in rural and urban areas, all through the co-operative efforts of the Federal, State, and local governments, the medical, dental, nursing, and other scientific professions and the voluntary agencies.

Civil service.—We pledge the immediate extension of a genuine system of merit to all positions in the executive branch of the Federal Government except actual bona fide policy-making positions. The competitive method of selecting employees shall be improved until experience and qualification shall be the sole test in determining fitness for employment in the Federal service. Promotion and tenure in Federal service shall likewise depend upon fitness, experience, and qualification. Arbitrary and unreasonable rules as to academic training shall be abolished, all to the end that a genuine system of efficiency and merit shall prevail throughout the entire Federal service.

TWO GRACE ABBOTT FELLOWSHIPS IN PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

THE editorial board of the *Review* is glad to announce two Grace Abbott fellowships in Public Welfare Administration.

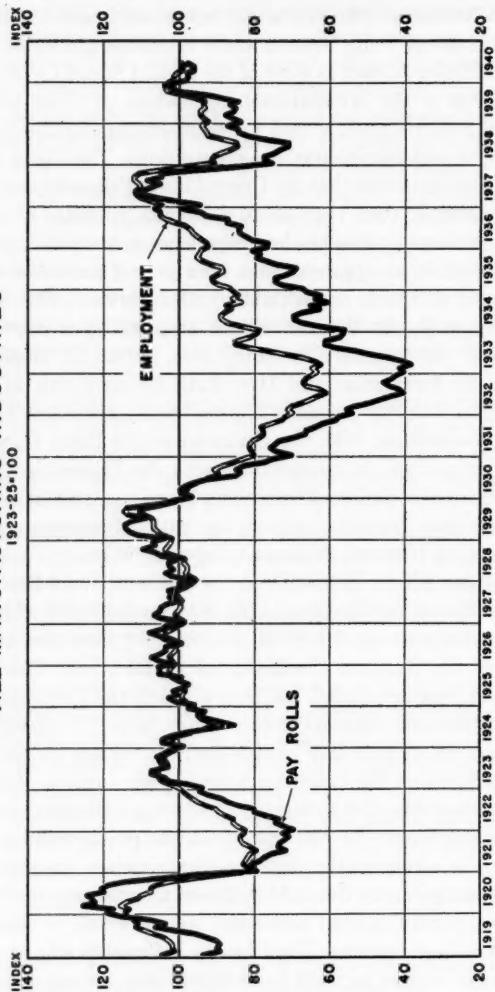
1. A Fellowship of \$1,000 has been established by Delta Gamma fraternity in honor of the public services of Grace Abbott, who was a member

of Kappa chapter of Delta Gamma when she was a student at the University of Nebraska. The Fellowship has recently been announced by the National Board of Delta Gamma and is established in honor of the public services of Grace Abbott as chief of the United States Children's Bureau, as a member of the International Committee on Child Welfare of the League of Nations, and through her membership on other public welfare commissions and administrative organizations. The Delta Gamma National Board announces that the Grace Abbott Fellowship will be awarded for the academic year 1941-42 to a woman graduate of an American college or university who has had experience in the public social services and who submits an approved plan for a year of professional study with the object of returning to the public welfare service. This Grace Abbott Fellowship in Public Welfare will be awarded by a committee of old members of the fraternity including Mrs. Arthur H. Vandenberg, Mrs. Joy Webster Bowerman, and Mrs. Ruth Bryan Rohde of Washington (D.C.), Miss Blanche Garten of Lincoln (Neb.), and Edith Abbott of Chicago, in co-operation with the chairman of the Delta Gamma Student Loan Fund and also in co-operation with the Fellowship Committee of the American Association of University Women. Application blanks may be secured after December 1 from the national secretary, Mrs. Russell Wildasin, 3019 Harvard Boulevard, Dayton, Ohio.

2. A Grace Abbott Fellowship in the School of Social Service Administration is the result of the Grace Abbott Memorial Fund, which was begun last year at a meeting of her old students and associates at the Buffalo meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. This fund, which has not yet been completed, has been given to the University of Chicago for the permanent endowment of a Grace Abbott Fellowship, and it is hoped that the income may be sufficient for a grant for the Winter and Spring quarters of the current academic year 1940-41. Like the Delta Gamma Fellowship, this University of Chicago Fellowship will be granted only to a candidate who has come from the public welfare services and who plans to return to the public welfare services. Because of the generous support given by Grace Abbott's old associates in the United States Children's Bureau, special preference will be given to candidates from the child welfare services. The Chicago Fellowship will be open to men as well as to women but will be available only for use at the School of Social Service Administration.

Grace Abbott cared so much about encouraging young men and women to give adequate time for preparation for the public social services that these fellowships seem a very appropriate way of honoring her own public service.

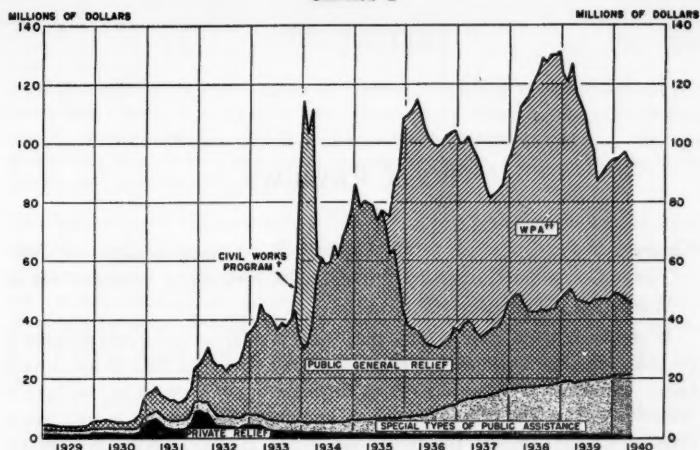
EMPLOYMENT AND PAY ROLLS ALL MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES



UNITED STATES BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

ADJUSTED TO 1937 CENSUS

CHART I

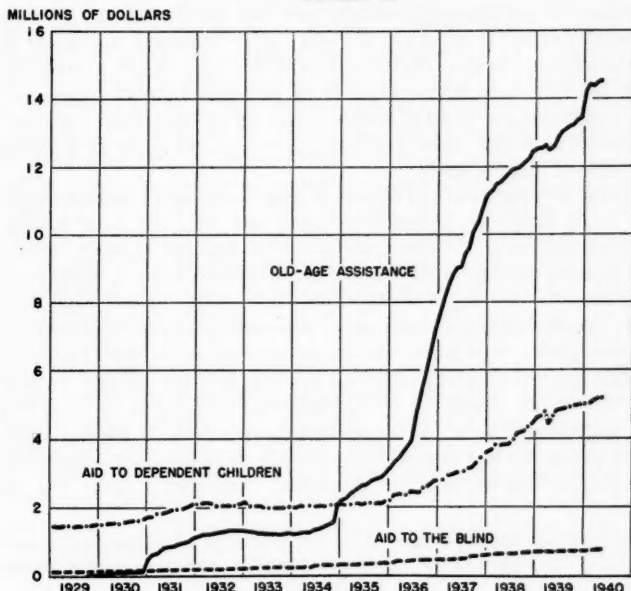


Social Security Board, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Division of Public Assistance Research

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ASSISTANCE AND EARNINGS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED ON PROJECTS OPERATED BY THE WORKS PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION AND UNDER THE CIVIL WORKS PROGRAM IN 116 URBAN AREAS, JANUARY, 1929—MAY, 1940

† Earnings of all persons employed under the Civil Works Program, including administrative staff.
 †† Earnings on projects operated by the Works Projects Administration within the areas.

CHART II



Social Security Board, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Division of Public Assistance Research

SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN 116 URBAN AREAS JANUARY, 1929—MAY, 1940

BOOK REVIEWS

Theory and Practice of Social Case Work. By GORDON HAMILTON. New York: Columbia University Press for the New York School of Social Work, 1940. Pp. viii+388. \$3.00.

In this book the author's stated purpose is to analyze and reconcile some of the more significant elements of theory and practice in the field of social work today. While her primary focus is on the present, she views it in the light of extensive and profound changes that have occurred in the last twenty years. Changes wrought through the infiltration of mental-hygiene principles, the annexation and partial assimilation of contents from related scientific fields, the influence of developments in the field of labor relations upon a field which has been undergoing basic change within itself through the expansion and establishment of public services—all these determinants of present theory and practice are woven into the picture as the author attempts to find and redefine social case work. This complex task has yielded an intricate result. The reader may wish for a simple comprehensive formulation of the field comparable to that of Mary E. Richmond's *Social Diagnosis*, written more than two decades ago. Perhaps such a statement would not depict the field today—perhaps it would misrepresent confusion in the guise of clarity. One of the values of this presentation probably lies in its valid representation of the profession's growth process, and in that it constitutes a record of where we now stand—unclarified—only partially oriented as to time, place, and function, and only on the verge of finding our professional identity again.

Beginning with the scope and purpose of social work, Miss Hamilton focuses on two major objectives: economic well-being and satisfying social relationships. These objectives, she states, the profession attempts to attain through various methods peculiar to the fields of social welfare planning, social group work, and social case work, all of which include social administration and social research. She then discusses generic social case work in chapters ii-x in terms of its specific methods, basic principles, and philosophies. In the latter part of the book, beginning with chapter xi, she deals with the "field and function" of social case work from the standpoint of its beginning reorientation in terms of a functional division of labor. In this connection she selects the fields of family and child welfare in which to develop her thinking on its functional adaptations. The concluding chapter, entitled "Promethean Adventure," opens with the statement:

In the foregoing chapters we have attempted to show in what characteristic ways case work concerns itself with the individual's adaptation to an ever-changing environ-

ment. Whether or not science comes to agree on an ultimate constitutional and economic determinism, it seems clear that, pragmatically speaking, the social process, with its infinite number of variable factors, is relatively undetermined. . . . It is no wonder that social workers give close attention to behavior, which is the pulse of the human organism's attempts at adaptation.

This leads to a discussion of the contribution of psychiatry to the field of social case work and to an attempt to differentiate the social worker's use of psychiatric knowledge from the psychiatrist's. She sees all social work efforts in the last analysis as being pointed toward, and their results determined by, the possibility of socializing the individual personality within the family and the group. In the last chapter one gets a statement of theme which might well have been given at the start.

The broad scope and complexity of this book inevitably implies that the reader will be dissatisfied at certain points. There are many subjects which almost demand further clarification. Miss Hamilton's contemporaries (of whom the reviewer is one) may not feel this need so much as students and younger members of the profession. The reader who has lived through this developmental period is oriented to the significance of some of these subjects and can qualify and elaborate some of her statements for himself. The high degree of condensation in which a rapid impact of ideas is conveyed through a whirlpool of theory may fail to carry the full import of her thinking to those who have not shared her experience. There are portions also which her contemporaries would like to have her elaborate. For example, in the chapter on "Methods of Social Case Study," in which about four pages are given to a discussion of interviewing, the process through which client and case worker continually function, the presentation contains fragmentary hints at technique and scattered philosophical comments, conveying the impression of a more haphazard process than actually exists in the field today. The discussion of worker-client relationship is another instance calling for elaboration. Controversial thinking and varied practice in the field today are too significant for this vital area to be treated in so summary a fashion. One wishes for the author's seasoned thinking and penetrating insight at this point. The reviewer makes these comments with appreciation of the writer's complex task and with full realization that the extent of the subject matter almost inevitably may imply a lack of depth in some of the significant portions. One wonders, however, if a different organization of material might not have enabled her to be more comprehensive throughout the work as a whole. One misses an adequate statement of the influential psychological points of view and wonders if this, together with a thorough discussion of interviewing process and worker-client relationship, at the start would have enabled the whole discussion to emerge with greater continuity thus avoiding the repetition which occurs at many points throughout the book, repetition which in consuming time and space prevents the writer from being as thorough as she might otherwise have been.

The presentation is enriched by many case excerpts. The author has chosen

to state theory and to use illustrative case material rather than to elicit theoretical conclusions from case material. The method seems good but again as though under pressure of time and space she does not make full use of it. The long excerpts in some instances give more information than needed to establish the theoretical points. In other instances they have not been analyzed in sufficient detail to make their relevance clear. One wishes that fewer cases might have been used more exhaustively in order that the reader might have been given more of the depth of the author's thinking.

These limitations do not negate the essential worth of this book. The author's delightful style, her professional wisdom, her penetrating insight, and the rapid flow of challenging ideas make it a rich experience for the reader. Her contemporaries have been afforded a keen reliving of all they have experienced. Because they get the full import of what is being conveyed they want to share it with those who have not experienced it, and this, perhaps, makes them demand even more of Miss Hamilton than she has given. Furthermore, an additional value for the field of social work lies in its contribution to professional education. The author's conception of the scope and function of social case work establishes clearly the point of view that education for this profession demands education for the field as a whole regardless of the individual's special function within the field.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Federal Regulatory Action and Control. By FREDERICK F. BLACHLY and MIRIAM E. OATMAN. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1940. Pp. 356. \$3.00.

This book might seem to have little professional interest for those in the social service field, whose concern is with the benefactory, rather than the regulatory, relationships of government. According to the Preface, its purpose is to discuss the problems of law and administration which must be solved if federal intervention in the economic realm is to be both efficient and legal. Actually, these problems are not so much discussed as furnished with a setting. The first half of the book is nothing less than an analytical description, in brief compass, of the organization, legal status, and relationships of the federal administrative system. As such it is of interest to all who are concerned with that system, whether in its regulatory, benefactory, proprietary, contractual, or revenue relationships. Types of federal authorities, forms of administrative action, types of administrative procedures, and methods of enforcement of administrative action are all neatly classified. After the schematic approach has been pushed to, or beyond, the point of diminishing returns, the problems of judicial review and control of administrative action are considered.

All these matters are relevant to the social service practitioner. While it

may be theoretically true, as the authors say, that in the benefactory relationship "the individual has no rights against the government" and "no question of a judicial appeal arises," it is still necessary to accord the applicant for benefits a hearing which will assure that all facts are discovered and a proper decision made, and a statutory right of appeal to the courts may be given. Thus from the procedural viewpoint benefactory activities may have much in common with the regulatory process, which is the main concern of this book, and useful analogies may be discovered.

The second half considers proposed revisions in the system of administrative regulation. The authors consider and reject the views of those who profess to fear "administrative absolutism" and want to make every administrative decision subject to review in the courts. Their own concern is for the simplification of the present conflicting appeal procedures, for which purpose they favor the establishment of a federal administrative court. Their contention that federal regulatory commissions are legislative agencies and must be responsible directly to Congress will not appear very realistic to most political scientists. But the authors will be forgiven because of their merciless analysis of the Walter-Logan Bill, the present white hope of those groups interested in crippling federal regulatory action. It is good to have the stupidity of this bill exposed by scholars from the Brookings Institution, which has never been accused of bias toward the New Deal.

C. HERMAN PRITCHETT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Unemployment Services. By POLLY HILL. With an Introduction by D. R. GRENFELL, M.P. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1940. Pp. xiv+226. 7s. 6d.

The British Unemployment Assistance Board: A Case Study in Administrative Autonomy. By JOHN D. MILLETT. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1940. Pp. 300. \$3.00.

Miss Hill has prepared an extremely useful study of the British unemployment services, with special reference to the work of the Unemployment Assistance Board. The services of the two divisions for dealing with the British unemployed—unemployment insurance and unemployment assistance, both of which are administered by the central government—have been largely successful in removing the unemployed from the old poor law services.

Miss Hill's report deals with the effect of these services on the households of the unemployed, and the reader is given a very satisfactory picture of how the limitations of the unemployment insurance system and the work of the newer Unemployment Assistance Board affect the families of unemployed men and women. There is an interesting chapter on the benefit rates for child dependents and the benefits rates for women, and a chapter with some new material on the

supplementing of the unemployment insurance benefits by the U.A.B., which make available a picture of the unemployment services that has not heretofore been conveniently available for American readers.

The book contains a strong argument against the "household means test." The means test as it survives in unemployment assistance is a direct inheritance from the poor law and was not discarded when the unemployed on transitional payments were transferred to the U.A.B. Its persistence is an acknowledgment of the fact that unemployment assistance still has some of the hallmarks of "relief." Americans know an even more objectionable poor law survival in the family responsibility provisions of our newer old age assistance legislation.

There is no doubt at all that the household means test should be abolished, but Miss Hill faces the question realistically when she notes that "the existence of extra large resources available for the support of the applicant," on the one hand, and cases of exceptional need, on the other, "make a means test of some kind necessary." Miss Hill suggests what may be called a "personal means test" as a substitute for the present, and traditional, household means test. She would apply the personal means test to "the applicant, to his wife (or husband) and to any other person in respect of whom dependents' benefit is claimed from the Board. Thus would the means test and the needs test be made to correspond. . . . This personal means test should ordinarily take the form of a declaration of personal income by the claimant at the Exchange." Miss Hill is clear that "the personal means test would be very mild in its operation compared with the present household means test." Americans would agree with this.

The arguments against the household means test are summarized as follows:

It gives undue weight to the fact, not primarily of relationship, but of living together in the same household.

It has a bad effect on the personal relations of members of the household, and may even lead to artificial breaking up of the family.

It involves detailed inquiries into the circumstances of the employed as well as the unemployed members of the household.

It reduces the value of wages and other income coming in to employed members of the household, and thus the benefit that is derived from obtaining employment.

The author of the second study is an American who is primarily interested in a single problem of the U.A.B.—that is, the position of administrative autonomy which this administrative authority enjoys in place of the usual departmental status which is "marked by the limitations imposed through the doctrine of ministerial responsibility." This is an interesting problem to the student of administrative law; but to the social worker, whose primary concern is the welfare of the human beings who are the reason for the administrative process, this book seems very remote from the world of reality. The author apparently has no special interest in the unemployed, nor is he concerned with whether or not this new administrative organization has been for the welfare of this large group in the population.

The interest of the author of this second study seems to lie in the "marked tendency" which he finds "to set up administrative bodies on a statutory basis

freed in some degree from control by a responsible minister." The author is interested in the U.A.B. for the same reasons that he might be interested in any other agency enjoying a similarly independent administrative status—such as the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Flour Millers Corporation, the Herring Industry Board, or the London Passenger Transport Board. He finds some important questions of administrative law presented by the new organization. How far, for example, did the Board have "an entirely free hand," and how far may the Minister of Labor intervene in the actual determination of unemployment allowances?

While this is an interesting book for a small group of students in the field of British constitutional trends, the American student of social welfare is only remotely concerned with many of these questions relating to the British scheme of parliamentary government. Such questions as, for example, those relating to parliamentary "question time" and to the "order paper" are of interest to students of parliamentary procedure, but they are of no importance in the matter of the proper treatment of the unemployed; and the detailed examination of just what questions were asked of this minister or that minister seems relatively unimportant. For example: "In about twenty-five instances Parliamentary questions cited reductions in the allowance of specified individuals and asked for an explanation. In a few of these the Minister responded that the cuts were due to changes in household circumstances." This treatment of the subject is in sharp contrast to Miss Hill's illuminating discussion of the household means test.

Again, the reader is reminded that in February, 1939, the House listened to "a brief analysis by Lord Rushcliffe of the problem of the younger unemployed," and in March, 1939, "Lord Addison initiated a short debate on the Government's employment policies. These occasions constituted the extent of the Lords' manifestation of interest in unemployment subjects." But what of the problem of what to do for the younger unemployed, and what of the government's employment policies? No light is thrown on questions like these.

The needs of unemployed families are, to the author, not a matter of expert knowledge. He quotes approvingly the judgment of an English representative of the social-science group: "When we come to the granting of discretionary payments to the unemployed, we find that it is not at any point an expert matter; it is not a task which, like the management of docks or of electrical generation, requires the service of highly trained men belonging to a specialized profession."

The treatment of the parliamentary question procedure is rather tedious, and the detailed quotations from the *Parliamentary Debates* with all the references to "right honorable friends" could well have been abbreviated.

On the whole, Mr. Millett's book is a useful study for American students who are interested in some of the English developments of the administrative process. It is a disappointment for those interested in the field of the public social services.

EDITH ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Public Welfare Administrator. By ELWOOD STREET. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1940. Pp. 422. \$4.00.

The author of this book was for five years director of public welfare in the District of Columbia. Based on his experience as a local administrator in a large metropolitan area and twenty years' practice in private social work administration, the book contains much that is of value to other administrators.

Inasmuch as the District is peculiar from a governmental point of view, the administrator was in an unusually good position to write from his own experiences and observations. To broaden the base from which he writes, Mr. Street made studies of public welfare administration in Baltimore, Maryland, and in Los Angeles, California, and consulted other administrators as well as members of his own staff.

The greatest value in the book lies in the chapters based on actual experience, such as the ones on "Personnel Procedure"; "Staff Discipline and Morale"; and those dealing with the handling of government funds, property, purchasing, transportation, and communication.

Proper consideration of welfare as a function of government is indicated by the statement: "Public welfare thus must be seen in its true perspective as an integrated part of the total government. Public welfare usually is responsible as a governmental function to some higher authority, such as mayor, city manager, county commissioners, state governor, or President." From this he goes on to show how accounting procedures, budgetary proposals, interpretation of law, purchasing, records, personnel, automobiles, press releases, construction of buildings, payment of salaries, etc., are all conditioned by this fact. He concludes: "Public welfare is part of government as an organization, is controlled in innumerable ways by that organization, and is served and strengthened in other ways. Public welfare administration involves effective gearing into the mechanisms of all these other agencies of government."

Occasionally there is a rather pompous statement regarding the self-evident, such as "The public welfare administrator will find that taxes provide the chief source of income for public welfare and governmental purposes."

Sometimes statements seem entirely too optimistic, as where, in referring to the depression, the author says:

This economic cataclysm, the greatest that has yet struck the United States, from the standpoint of numbers of persons affected, has been relieved with far less suffering and with far less serious disturbances than the poverty resulting from unemployment in other serious depressions in this country. Apart from the privation involved, the great numbers of unemployed, the long duration of their unemployment, the complete exhaustion of their resources, and the hopelessness of their condition would doubtless have produced serious rioting had it not been for the development of a Federal relief program and of the resultant social security program, with its aid to the states and to local communities. Public social workers and administrators have handled their new and continually changing responsibilities with great competence. They have rendered a service of untold value to the nation. They have prevented widespread and intense suffering.

They have made disorder unnecessary. They have helped to implant throughout the nation a sense of the mutual responsibility of all Americans for the welfare of all Americans.

The book was written for the practical use of administrators and also intended for the teacher of public welfare administration. For teachers and students there are extensive bibliographical references at the end of each chapter which have been well chosen.

The book should prove a useful addition to the literature of public welfare administration.

MARIETTA STEVENSON

AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION

Grants-in-Aid under the Public Works Administration. By J. KERWIN WILLIAMS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. 292. \$3.75.

In this book those who are interested in the problem of federal grants-in-aid to state and local governments will find a good analysis of the structural organization of the Public Works Administration, the methods used to make grants-in-aid and loans, the effects of the program on state and local governments, and a valuable appraisal of the system. No attempt is made to justify or condemn the "pump-priming" philosophy in using public construction to increase employment since that is considered a problem for the economists.

The P.W.A. established direct federal relationships with cities, counties, and other state subdivisions on a significant scale for the first time. Instead of accepting a state program as a whole, the P.W.A. reviewed each project application separately. Such a procedure is explained by the need for hasty action and the lack of existing state departments of public works to administer the program when it was instituted.

In a clear presentation of the organizational structure of the P.W.A. and the methods used to administer grants and loans, the author shows how direct federal contacts with local sponsors facilitated prompt action and permitted approval of applications, supervisory controls, and technical assistance to sponsors by qualified central officials.

Grants and loans have been made primarily on the basis of the engineering, financial, and legal soundness of the projects. The author recommends that allocations to states should also relate to the states' needs for an employment-giving public construction program and suggests that a formula giving equal weight to population and extent of unemployment be used to determine the relative needs of the states. A uniform sponsor's contribution leaves room for much political pressure and charges of favoritism. A chapter is given to the effect of the P.W.A. grants and loans on state and local law. The P.W.A. has paid deference to existing laws regarding contracts, labor, and debt limitations.

There is an interesting and valuable discussion of the devices used by governmental authorities to overcome the obstacle of debt limitations. To obtain loans when debt limitations interfered, some local governments have removed the limitations and others have used these devices to get around the limitation: intrastate leasing, revenue bonds, creation of an authority, bonds of self-sustaining state agencies, debt limitations exceeded on a "public danger" clause, tax-anticipation warrants, and special assessment bonds.

The author has wisely chosen to study the P.W.A. system of grants-in-aid from both a historical and an administrative approach. The various phases of the program are carefully developed and the changes indicated which were brought about by changes in philosophy and by changes in legislation.

Dr. Williams believes in an administrative organization like P.W.A. and presents a convincing argument for a permanent public works agency, which would keep on hand a file of project plans in normal times and be prepared to help the local governments maintain public construction in and out of depressions.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WILLIAM C. NEWTON

Handbook of American Institutions for Delinquent Juveniles, Vol. II: *Kentucky-Tennessee*. Edited by WILLIAM B. COX, JOSEPH A. SHELLY, and GEORGE C. MINARD. 1st ed. New York: Osborne Association, Inc., 1940. Pp. viii+293. \$1.25.

This volume is the second in a series of reports evaluating institutions for the care of delinquent children. The Osborne Association has undertaken the ambitious and important assignment of surveying every state and federal institution in the country serving this group. The first volume,¹ published in 1938, covered the investigation of thirteen training schools in seven west-north-central states. The present volume includes the findings and recommendations for six more institutions—two in Kentucky and four in Tennessee. Readers of the first report who hoped that the generally unsatisfactory conditions described were atypical will find little that is encouraging in this account of the second phase of the study. Those who knew or suspected that other institutions were as inadequate as the schools reviewed in the earlier volume will be prepared for the following statement by the editors, which concludes the introductory portion of this report and synthesizes its content.

Taking them as a whole, the institutions of this area have failed regrettably to measure up either to their statutory objectives or to accepted professional and humane standards. Inadequate appropriations, poor and neglected physical plants, insufficient and untrained personnel and, most important of all, political interference have contributed their share to the present state in which most of the institutions now find themselves. A sad combination of public apathy and public indifference to the true condition

¹ See this *Review*, XIV (1940), 170.

of their child-caring institutions must be acknowledged to be at the root of the difficulties. Only an aroused, informed and sustained public opinion will succeed in bringing these training schools up to the standard set by states which realize that the welfare of their children is inextricably bound up in the welfare of society as a whole.

One institution in this group, the Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home, at Anchorage, Kentucky, merited strongly favorable comment upon its efforts to meet modern standards of child care. The editors have described it as the outstanding institution among those studied thus far in the survey. Unfortunately, this progressive institution is available only to children in Louisville and Jefferson County and to those committed by United States courts. Even this institution may have been somewhat overrated in view of the fact that its provisions for colored boys and girls lack many of the advantages offered white children. Of the four Tennessee schools, only one, the Vocational School for Girls, at Tullahoma, could possibly be considered above the level of mediocrity, on the basis of the facts presented. One Kentucky institution and three in Tennessee appeared to be definitely substandard in many respects. It is paradoxical that the laws of both states pertaining to the establishment and operation of these institutions provide that children committed are to receive constructive training and guidance, which are practically impossible under existing limitations. Perhaps the fundamental problems involved in grouping together socially deviating children, which have encouraged the increased use of other methods for the treatment of delinquency, have resulted in insufficient emphasis upon the fact that many children still are, and indefinitely may continue to be, sent to training schools. The tendency to use institutional care as a last resort, where followed, means that even the best-equipped and most efficiently directed institution faces a grave challenge in its effort to rehabilitate. To place a troubled child with others who are similarly disadvantaged in a substandard institution is virtually to insure the very failure for which the average training school is so readily criticized. Social workers and other professional persons who are directly interested in the welfare of children face the necessity of interpreting these facts to the citizenship body and to its representatives in government if more solid foundations are to be erected for the institutional care of delinquent children.

The report is definite, convincing, and well organized. The Introduction contains a good analysis of institutional standards and the extent of their observance by the training schools studied in this area. Following the factual description of each institution, conclusions are reached and recommendations are presented. The section on each institution was submitted to the responsible authorities for attention and comment, and the replies received are included. Many of the recommendations appear to have been well accepted, and certain improvements in plant, program, and personnel are reported to have resulted. Fundamental changes, however, await an insistent public demand translated into action.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RICHARD EDDY

The Legal Status of the Negro. By CHARLES S. MANGUM, JR. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. 436. \$5.00.

All the problems in connection with the difficulties of the Negro which have been called to the attention of the courts are covered in this comprehensive volume. It begins by answering the question, "Who is a Negro?" and discusses the fact that to charge one who is not a Negro with being a Negro is to be guilty of slander or libel according as the statement is made by word of mouth or writing. There is a chapter devoted to the difficult problems of citizenship, of the requirement that Negroes should be given access to places of amusement, to the professions without discrimination, and to the administration of fraternal associations.

The question of segregation in education and the effects of the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court are presented and discussed. There is a chapter devoted to the constitutional problem of involuntary servitude, to the "Jim Crow" laws, and to the treatment of the Negro by the railroads and local transportation agencies. Chapters are devoted to each of the rights that have been recognized by the United States Supreme Court since the Arkansas and Scottsboro cases, namely, the presence of such violence as to amount to a denial of due process, discrimination in selection of juries, the right to counsel, and the position of the Negro as a witness. A very interesting chapter is devoted to the subject of the treatment of Negroes in charitable and penal institutions, and the problem of interracial marriage is likewise presented and discussed. The last chapter is devoted to the subject of the vote. There is a selected bibliography and a very ample index. The entire discussion is completely documented, and there is here a wealth of information with reference to the treatment of the Negro, both by the legislature and by the courts of the various states.

It is disappointing that the author does not think that legislation, either state or federal, is the remedy for the ills he portrays with such thoroughness if not with eloquence. He says with regard to legislation that "every such attempt has resulted in their failure and any further effort would be met by the same wall of subterfuge and prejudice that rang the knell of its predecessors." He finds a remedy in the twofold program of education in accordance with which the Negro would be educated along the lines of civic consciousness and responsibility and the white man in the South educated to a point where he would give heed to the righteousness of the Negro's cause. The implication, then, is that Dr. Magnum would not support the antilynching bill which is now before Congress. There is an old scriptural statement to the effect that the law is a schoolmaster to bring us into understanding, and there are those who cannot see why securing enactments both from Congress and from the state legislatures should not be utilized as educational procedures in addition to the usual devices of elementary, high-school, and collegiate instruction.

S. P. B.

New Facts on Mental Disorders: Study of 89,190 Cases. By NEIL A. DAYTON, M.D., M.C. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1940. Pp. 486+xxxiv. \$4.50.

This book gives part of the results of a study begun in 1928 under grants from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation and further grants in 1931 and 1935. The volume gives an account of some of the socioeconomic factors relating to the admission of 89,190 patients to the mental hospitals of Massachusetts during the years 1917-33 inclusive. Such a wealth of material, as might be expected, lends itself to graphic presentation, and we find the data summarized in 110 graphs and 84 tables in the course of the twelve chapters.

In the first seven chapters the author covers such factors as age, nativity, alcohol, marriage, and marital status, and the influences of the socioeconomic developments from 1917 to 1933, as the World War, demobilization, economic changes, prohibition, and relief. Then follow three chapters that should be illuminating to the psychiatrist: the clinical diagnosis of the first admissions in the years mentioned and the age incidence of the various clinical types; the changing incidence of the various types over these years; and the relations between the various types to such factors as economic status, education, religion, environment, marital status, use of alcohol, war service, nativity groups, length of residence in the United States of the foreign-born, alien and naturalized foreign-born, and color. The succeeding chapter asks the question: "Are mental disorders on the increase?" and Dr. Dayton gives an interesting turn to this question, which so many have answered in the affirmative in past years. In the concluding chapter we find a history of the project and an account of the methodology used in the study.

The volume obviously represents an immense amount of work in which many have assisted, whose help is acknowledged in the Introduction. The wealth of statistics makes for heavy reading, and the book would seem destined for reference rather than for straight reading. One helpful and commendable feature is a "Summation" at the beginning of each chapter where the contents are summarized in numbered paragraphs.

Some of the author's conclusions and findings are striking and should be of interest to social workers and a challenge to many psychiatrists. Thus, he claims that although large numbers of workers were laid off following 1929, only a slight increase in new admissions to mental hospitals was noted. He attributes this to the widespread relief measures put into operation after 1931. His conclusions as to the role of alcohol in the production of mental disorder lead him to suggest that psychiatrists have been indifferent to, or have neglected, this relationship. Thus he states that chronic alcoholism is a prominent etiological factor in 20 per cent of all admissions to the mental hospitals studied. Another finding of interest is that the psychoses associated with cerebral arteriosclerosis and with senil-

ity are predominant, contrary to a widely held belief that the schizophrenic psychoses are most prevalent. The author's findings as to the frequency of mental disorders requiring hospitalization in comparison with other forms of illness, and his answer as to whether or not mental disorders are on the increase are well worth reading by all interested and will give to many new viewpoints on such questions.

The volume will prove of great value to those interested in the sociological and public health aspects of psychiatry.

DAVID SLIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Child Psychology for Professional Workers. By FLORENCE M. TEAGARDEN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. Pp. xxv+641. \$3.25.

As suggested in the Preface, this lengthy volume appears to be an outgrowth of a course given for professional workers—social workers, home and school visitors, public health nurses, ministers, rabbis, and teachers—who “need to know more about normal children . . . about what is abnormal in children” and for whose use there is “available no textbook on child psychology.” However, it is a book the content of which is both more and less than might be expected from the title. It contains less because it is not a comprehensive treatise on the subject of child psychology as that subject is commonly defined, nor is the material presented from a unified or integrated point of view. Its content is more than the title suggests in that it is a comprehensive source book on a number of subjects other than child psychology, such as biology, sociology, medicine, psychiatry, child welfare, all of which have bearing upon the life of children and to which professional workers, for whom the book was written, need considerable orientation. To the reviewer this seems both a strength and a weakness of the book. As a source book of information drawn from various related fields such a volume might be useful as a step in general orientation for inexperienced or untrained social workers and perhaps for other professional workers, and the long lists of up-to-date and selected references given at the end of each chapter would be a valuable resource to both. But as a textbook on child psychology for professional social workers or for social workers in training it seems inadequate and unsatisfying in some aspects. Chiefly, this is so because the scope of the material is so broad that it is impossible to deal with each subject adequately in one chapter, and many of the subjects covered in the book are now recognized as a necessary part of the approved training for social work and therefore appear in the professional school's curriculum as separate courses. This would apply to those subjects dealing with medicine, psychiatry, and different aspects of child welfare, such as adoption, child-placing, juvenile delinquency. The material included in the chapters based on the fields of biology, eugenics, and clinical psychology is not usually presented in separate courses in professional schools, and this material

would seem to have a real place in such a volume. These chapters are well written, they give a comprehensive survey of present-day trends in each field, and they provide a kind of general information which the professional worker can use widely.

The chapters which deal with the emotional development and behavior of young children are not so satisfactory, partly because the material is too general and lacks a basic philosophy and partly because there is little attempt to elaborate upon the dynamics of behavior. Because of the enormity of the task attempted it was necessary for the author to be selective of the material presented, and it seemed that she elaborated the material which was of personal interest to her but omitted or relegated to a brief paragraph other material that is of equal importance. For instance, there is quite a good discussion of children's fears but only a brief mention of anger in children, of anxiety, guilt, jealousy, and other emotions. For this reason, from the point of view of the critical student it might have been more satisfying had the author attempted to limit the contents of the book to the scope as indicated by the title or had developed each subject in a more exhaustive manner and planned this publication as the first volume in a series of volumes under the general title of child psychology.

In spite of these critical comments the book does offer sources of information to professional workers and as such should find a place in the bibliographies of general and elementary courses in the children's field.

LOIS WILDY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, 1939. New York, 1939. Pp. 192. \$1.50.

The *Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, 1939* have been trimmed by an editorial board to meet compelling budgetary considerations. So the Foreword informs us, and the result is a compact readable volume containing twenty-eight selected papers given at the Conference. Many of the papers should be of equal interest to social workers and others of the general community, particularly those who are concerned with the problems of immigrants and minorities in the United States. Especially timely are the two papers under the general heading of "Problems of Jewish Adjustment in America" and four papers under the heading of "Problems of the Refugee."

Harry L. Lurie's paper on "Developments in Jewish Civic and Protective Activities in the United States" contains an excellent historic résumé of the status of the Jewish people in the United States, a stimulating discussion of the situation, and interesting, if narrow and biased, conclusions regarding the nature and causes of the Jewish problem of today. Ruth Z. Mann's paper on "The Adjustment of Refugees in the United States in Relation to Their Background" and Amelia Igel's paper on "Case Work with Refugees" give a good account of

the characteristics of the present-day refugee in general and of his problems as a client of a social agency. Many questions present themselves in connection with this subject which are not dealt with by the papers in this section. One wonders why the Jewish refugee problem is considered as a new phenomenon in America and why it is discussed without reference to the earlier immigration of Jews from czarist Russia toward the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the present century. To be sure, great changes have taken place in the last fifty years, including changes in the American scene, but the problem of the Jew has remained fundamentally the same. His second coming to America presents by and large the same fundamental problems in mass and individual adjustment as did his earlier migration—adjustment to new environment. Now as then these problems have to be met in the light of contemporary conditions. Another question that failed to receive consideration is the reason for setting up separate case-working machinery to deal with the refugee.

Many of the papers in the sections on family care, child care, delinquency, care of the aged, etc., are high grade and should be of value to all social workers in the respective specialized fields. But they have no special significance from the point of view of the Jewish client or of the Jewish social worker; they are applicable to clients and social workers generally and might be presented in any social-work conference.

On the other hand, the section on "Vocational Service," which consists of four papers, has special significance because it deals with a problem that affects a minority group distinctly. It deals with a special phase of social and economic protection of a minority group. Alexander A. Liveright, whose paper appears in summary form, presents a fairly comprehensive picture of the place of vocational service in the Jewish community. If his thesis is sound and if a separate vocational service in the Jewish community is valid, it is only natural to suggest that similar questions with regard to such services are in order for other minority groups.

JACOB KEPECS

JEWISH CHILDREN'S BUREAU
OF CHICAGO

Working-Class Wives—Their Health and Conditions. By MARGERY SPRING RICE. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, and New York: Penguin Books, 1940. Pp. 214. 6d.; \$0.25.

With great simplicity and directness this small volume presents a vivid picture of the lives of the working-class wives in various sections of both rural and urban England. It is a picture drawn from the records of 1,250 housewives in widely differing districts, social conditions, and occupations questioned by the Women's Health Enquiry Committee that strove by means of a "sample" inquiry to investigate "as far as practicable"

1. The incidence and nature of general ill health among working women
2. Its possible causes, such as lack of medical treatment, poverty, bad housing, over-work
3. How far women observe the ordinary rules of health and hygiene, and the extent to which a certain amount of ill health is accepted as inevitable

The author has presented with sympathetic understanding story after story of these underfed, overworked women who are oblivious of their own ailments in their ceaseless toil for their husbands and children; whose health and vitality are damaged by too frequent child-bearing, too little rest, and too little medical care and health instruction. In their own words these women tell most movingly of their drab, monotonous existence, with no time for rest or leisure, no time to think of themselves or their health, no time (or money) to seek medical care, no time from their sixteen or eighteen hours of household drudgery—often under intolerable conditions—to do anything but struggle for an existence.

Much interesting material is included in the book regarding the number of pregnancies and the state of health of the women; the incidence of special ailments in relation to housing, pregnancies, and income; their state of health in relation to income. There is a chapter on the treatment of ill health and another on the attitude to life and health that shows how few of these women have the advantage of health insurance or can pay a private doctor. The only health instruction they have received has been from the "Ante-natal Clinic" or from the "Welfare Centers" or from the "Health Visitor," and this has been reported by only a limited number of the women who have obtained it in relation to their pregnancy and the care of the baby. There is heartrending irony in the frequent report of the women, who have finally found energy to consult a private doctor, that the doctor had said to change their diet, to eat more nourishing food, to rest more, to sleep more, and to get more fresh air. Knowing these recommendations are beyond their ability to carry out, they do not return to the doctor but go home to endure their burden of sickness in silence.

This book should be of special interest to those who are concerned about the relationship between social conditions and ill health. The point of view resulting from the inquiry is summed up in the Introduction that points out that for many of these women:

There is no medical advisor sufficiently concerned with the woman's general health and mental hygiene, apart from immediate symptoms, to find time to listen patiently to her troubles, and not only to prescribe pills or medicine but to give the careful and individual advice needed by a particular woman, or to take note of conditions which may be danger signals pointing to the early stages of serious disease.

MARY WYSOR KEEFER

U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Australian Standards of Living. By F. W. EGGLESTON and OTHERS. Melbourne University Press, 1939. Pp. 193. 10s.

A discussion of standards of living in Australia invariably revolves around the minimum standard which has come to determine the basic wage and which probably constitutes the major industrial issue of that country today. The present volume includes a series of papers by economists, barristers, and others.

In an article by the chairman of the Commonwealth Grants Commission the standard of living is viewed from the political angle, and the author is preoccupied with the nontechnical, nonmeasurable factors associated with the concept of a living standard. He regards living standards as political and social factors, because the particular society in which an individual lives colors his notion of what he desires in the way of comforts and because the individual will pursue and encourage those policies that will help him to attain his objectives. Thus, the standard of living becomes a dynamic force actively determining national policies. Rather than measure the standard of living in terms of satisfaction the author prefers to consider it the level below which dissatisfaction manifests itself.

An economist, Dr. Walker of the University of Tasmania, believes that living standards are not dynamic and causative but are the outcome of a multiplicity of factors. He is primarily interested in quantitative data pertaining to the standard of living. Basing his discussion on trade considerations, Dr. Walker hesitates to compare differential standards which are dependent on such variables as age and sex composition, dissimilar social and economic levels, climate, social pressure, and degree of effectiveness of selling power. Although he affirms the value of comparisons between countries with wide discrepancies in modes of living, Dr. Walker, with his predilection for precision, queries the validity of comparing widely disparate living conditions, e.g., "Queensland kangaroos and polar bears." While he sees a certain value in the formulation of family budgets for different social stratifications and while he recognizes significance in the comparative fluctuations in average national incomes, he declares that intranational variations are more productive of results than are studies of international variations. His conclusion is that comparisons for purposes of determining living standards extant in different states are unreliable, except where there is such a high degree of similarity of conditions that results are of little value. He decries the usage of "spuriously precise indexes" as means of providing a common denominator for unlikes but sees justification in a comparative investigation of the components of typical family budgets for different social levels.

A barrister, Mr. G. Anderson, surveys the legal mechanisms of wage adjustment through the Australian system of arbitration, which establishes a primary wage based on human need, computed to cover the cost of the essentials of living. Purchasing power of wages is computed from retail price indices as worked out by the Commonwealth statistician, and from these computations is declared a living wage—that is, the minimum which an adult male worker should receive to meet his basic needs. The secondary wage is the margin over and above the

living wage, payable for skill—that is, based on industrial value of services. Mr. Anderson reviews the work of the wage-fixing instruments—the Commonwealth Arbitration Court, the industrial tribunals and wage boards in the six states of the Commonwealth, and the effective intervention of trade-unionism in wage increases.

A statistical analysis of the tariff policy operating in the Commonwealth is the work of an economist of the University of Melbourne, Dr. J. F. Nimmo. The existing system of British preferential and protective tariffs serves, he states, to maintain high local costs of production and are borne largely by the consumers. The effects of protected industries are cumulatively adverse: more and more unsheltered areas of enterprise seek protection, creating finally a total dependency on a tariff wall. The conclusion is that excessive protection falls on all industries, even those for whose benefit the tariff policy was implemented. Because the burden falls heaviest on large families on fixed incomes, e.g., those set by industrial tribunals, he sees danger to the standard of living in a protective policy. Inasmuch as a tariff aggravates maldistribution of income and reduces community welfare, doubts are cast on the structure of high import impositions which have been built up to protect industry and standards of living in Australia.

The book is both discursive and statistical, amply supplied with tables and detailed price indices. An attempt to combine concisely the work of the economic theorist and the statistical economist is difficult because of the sectional presentation of various aspects of the standard of living along with the general features, international comparisons, the functions of legal standard-setting machinery, and the characteristics of the resultant consumption standards.

The book is published by the Australian branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations, an organization which has for its object the study of the social, political, and economic conditions of the peoples of territories in the Pacific.

JOAN INNES REID

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Norwegian Settlement in the United States. By CARLTON C. QUALEY. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1938. Pp. 285. \$3.00.

The Log Book of a Young Immigrant. By LAURENCE M. LARSON. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1939. Pp. 318. \$3.00.

Both of these studies of Norwegian immigration are valuable contributions to American economic and social history. Mr. Qualey thinks that the story of immigration is "but half told when the immigrant is brought to the point of first residence in America." To him the study of Norwegian settlement in the United States is "as much a study of the westward expansion of the American popula-

tion as it is a study of Norwegian immigration." It deals with a still active "process of migration." Mr. Qualey's volume follows the first Norwegian immigrants, who arrived in 1825, as they move westward. The story of Norwegian frontier settlements in Wisconsin and in Iowa and the advance into Minnesota, South and North Dakota and farther west are all carefully traced. There are also chapters on Michigan and on "islands" of settlement outside the main sweep of the pioneer settlements.

Professor Laurence Larson's *Log Book of a Young Immigrant* is the story of an immigrant boy, born in Norway, who came to the United States at an early age, knew pioneer life on the Iowa prairies, and rose through his own efforts to become a distinguished scholar.

His logbook contains valuable material relating to Norwegian traditions, an Old World farm, migration to the New World, American frontier farming, the "changing west" in its social aspects, and the processes of education and growth. The detail is presented against broad backgrounds—of section and nation, race and tradition, and the dominant forces of the age in which the author lived.

The Norwegian-American Historical Association has published some notable contributions to the history of Scandinavian immigration to America, and in these two volumes the Association has again made a valuable contribution to American historical research.

E. A.

Canada, 1763-1841, Immigration and Settlement: The Administration of the Imperial Land Regulations. By NORMAN MACDONALD. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939. Pp. xii+576. 21s.

Basically an agricultural country, much of Canada's economic and social history is closely related to the land. Dr. Macdonald's study sets out the fundamental importance of the land policy (or the lack of it) on the development of the country during the period described.

By the Treaty of Paris, 1763, England acquired Canada from France. Its chief divisions were then the two colonies of Lower Canada and Upper Canada, now the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. Each colony had an elected assembly, but the real government was supplied by a governor appointed by the English crown. The governor had wide powers of appointment and discretion, and he worked through a legislative council appointed by himself. Few of the succession of governors had any real acquaintance with the colonies and their problems or any plan for their sound development. Ignorance was more marked in distant London, and for knowledge was substituted the policy of ruling the young and wilful colony with a firm hand.

It might have been expected that any policy for the new colony would take

account of its chief resource, the rich new land. No such policy existed, and, in the lack of it, waste and confusion resulted. Grants of land, great and small, were made in London, by the governors of the colonies or by local officials, with little or no relation to each other. They were made with or without reason—as rewards for military or civil service, for legitimate colonization, as outright grants to friends or to speculators, or for no assigned reason. Conversely, large blocks of land were withheld from settlement in the crown reserves and the clergy reserves, without plan or logic, adding enormously to the difficulties of settlement.

In the colonies there was general confusion about the status of the land. The land registration system was inadequate and cumbersome, with duplicating officials and machinery. Grants of land were made in advance of surveys, preventing exact description; surveys were difficult, inaccurate, or patently false. No security of title or tenure prevailed, so that the hard-working colonists frequently found themselves bluntly dispossessed after purchase in good faith and years of pioneer toil. This confusion encouraged the squatter, whose claim and physical possession added to the mess.

The influence of this confusion on pioneer community life is apparent. Settlers were sparsely and uneconomically placed, settlements were separated by great blocks of reserved land, and all the arduous difficulties of the pioneer were compounded many times. Added to these physical and economic strains was the growing resentment against stupid officialdom, patronage, and speculation. In Ontario the physical plat of counties and townships, laid down under these conditions, continues until the present, complicating and hampering the business of local government and the conduct of the necessary social and economic activities of the community.

Faced by such man-made obstacles in addition to his physical tasks, it is not surprising that many immigrants moved on to the United States. The centralized, simple, and uniform method of land grants across the border was a strong magnet to the land-hungry settler, and particularly so if he was disgusted with an obtuse and disinterested officialdom in the Canadas. Reasonable estimates show that from one-half to two-thirds of all the British settlers arriving in Canada moved on to the United States within a few years. The increasing stream of Irish immigrants were less desired in the Canadas because of their anti-British feelings, but with them went many a thrifty English or Scotch family to add to the human and material wealth of the American midwest.

The author is professor of history at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. The volume is written in detailed but clear style and is thoroughly documented. It is a scholarly and useful study.

STUART K. JAFFARY

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

An American Exodus: A Record of Human Erosion. By DOROTHEA LANGE and PAUL S. TAYLOR. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939. Pp. 158. \$2.75.

Coming as it does in the wake of *The Grapes of Wrath*, which has already attracted attention to the migration westward of those families crowded out of stricken agricultural communities, this interesting Taylor-Lange document adds weight to the evidence presented by Mr. Steinbeck. This is far more than a pictorial account of the unsettling of many Americans, as the text offers a concise explanation of what lies back of this painful trek westward to an empty Utopia.

The material is presented in sections, each of which deals with the specific problems of a given area. These include "The Old South," "Plantation under Machine," "Midcontinent," "Plains," "Dust Bowl," and "The Last West." The authors explain in the Foreword that they have used "the camera as a tool of research"; and under each of the photographs is a caption which represents what the person photographed said or some pertinent remark made to the authors during their years in the field.

Miss Lange's photography is superbly effective and offers incontrovertible evidence of the forces that affect the small farmer—here are the drought, the tractor as a symbol of industrialized agriculture, and the large-scale operations of corporations. The photographs of an agricultural labor contractor's camp and the squatter camps at Holtville, on the edge of the Imperial Valley, vividly portray the rural slums that are a product of this uprooting.

Although there are few pages of narrative between the photographs, except the quotations from individuals or from other students of the problems, the authors present some recommendations. Most imperative is federal aid to the states for general assistance which would insure a right to relief for unsettled persons. Several long-time remedial measures are suggested, many of which, as the authors point out, have already been put into operation on a small experimental scale by federal governmental agencies. These suggestions include an extensive housing program, with plans for co-operative garden, dairy, and poultry production; joint purchasing of machinery by tenants and small farmers; and corporate farms with the stockholders made up of the working farmers. It is suggested that these schemes for organization can be aided considerably by those who finance farm production as well as by the governmental agencies. One of the most difficult suggestions to carry out, perhaps, is that those social barriers which have been erected in most communities against the migrant laborer and his family should be broken down.

Jacket, end papers, photographs, quotations, and text demonstrate an artistic unity of concept. The quotations, with almost biblical simplicity and strength, point up the whole problem. One of the "disinherited" said: "A Human Being has a right to stand like a tree has a right to stand." Its greatest value lies in its potentialities for interpretation to persons unfamiliar with the problems of migratory labor.

Paul S. Taylor is professor of economics at the University of California, and Miss Lange, his wife, is a member of the Farm Security Administration photographic staff.

MARY HOUK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Soviet Housing Law. By JOHN N. HAZARD. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. vi+178. \$2.50.

Housing in Scandinavia. By JOHN GRAHAM. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. xvi+223. \$2.50.

These two books discuss certain aspects of housing in countries in which American students of housing have become much interested. The first one is a broad discussion of Soviet housing law, while the second one attempts to portray the accomplishments of housing efforts in the four Scandinavian countries.

Soviet Housing Law is an excellent piece of work by a student of Soviet law who has a philosophic grasp of the relations of housing to the socialist program in Russia. In the early years of the Soviet government rent was abolished, but because of the deterioration of buildings and the failure generally to make repairs, rent was reintroduced in the form of charges upon the occupant for repairs. At the present time there is no effort to conceal the nature of a charge upon occupants of houses which in other countries would be called rent. While it is intended that the rent shall be sufficient to maintain buildings and their equipment, the amount of rent which a tenant pays is graduated to fit his wages and the size of his family. Much has been said in this country about overcrowding in Russia, and Mr. Hazard leaves no doubt that the amount of dwelling space in the cities is quite inadequate in terms of both comfort and health; but it is equally clear that, taking into account the relative inefficiency of Russian industry, the government has attempted to allocate what housing there is on the basis of justice. "Soviet leaders look to the housing law as one of the tools by which a new society is to be fashioned, and they have been drilling this into the popular mind so long that the lesson is being learned," says Mr. Hazard.

Sharp contrasts between the law of landlord and tenant in this country and housing law in Soviet Russia appear. Private ownership of dwellings is virtually abolished. Nevertheless, the Russian citizen has rights to dwelling space which on other bases are hedged about by statute and court procedure that come close to assuring every person of a place to live. Space is rationed according to the number in a family, and a family which loses one of its members may be asked to find other quarters or find the housing authorities assigning space to a stranger in the family apartment. Evictions can and do occur, but it is said that nobody is ever put on the street unless he is regarded as an enemy of the Soviet Union; means exist for relocating the evicted person or family in suitable quarters. The

"comradely courts" and the people's courts enforce the law of occupancy, but at all times they seek to protect the individual against injustice by either a co-operative society or one of the government enterprises which may own houses and apartments for the use of its employees. Many cases involving the rights of a humble worker have found their way to the Supreme Court, and Mr. Hazard cites as many cases in which the decision has favored these humble petitioners as he cites cases in which some corporate group has won the decision. Property rights in residential property have been radically altered, but the needs of individuals and families seem to be recognized to the fullest extent.

Housing in Scandinavia represents the impressions of an enthusiast for housing. Mr. Graham is an architect by profession, but he is more than an architect. He has realized the relation between good housing and the happiness and well-being of people. Everywhere in Scandinavia he found the people much concerned over improving the houses in which they live. Both national and local governments have used a variety of measures to stimulate the construction of houses by public bodies, co-operative groups, and individuals. The Scandinavian countries have recognized that land constitutes a major problem in connection with housing, and they have devised means of acquiring land without paying speculative prices for it. Mr. Graham has the eye of an artist, but he has failed to produce a piece of literary art because he has written like an amateur journalist. The book is sprinkled with personal anecdotes which are only distantly relevant to the matter under discussion. His idea was good, namely, to produce a readable book on housing for the general reader, but his execution leaves much to be desired.

R. CLYDE WHITE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BRIEF NOTICES

The Incurable Idealist: Robert Dale Owen in America. By ELEANOR PANCOAST and ANNE E. LINCOLN. Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, 1940. Pp. 150. \$2.00.

Only careful selection of material has made possible the adequacy of this brief biography of a man with so many and such varied interests and achievements. Son of a distinguished father, Robert Dale Owen was "born with humanitarian leanings, of a humanitarian father into a humanitarian century" and "fed at the springs of English reforming thought and transferred at the outset of his career to a land where reform was easier than in the complexities of English government." The authors have indicated the influence of Owen's early milieu but also show how his Americanization changed and enriched the early interests and ideals first experimented with at New Harmony. One contribution of this colony not often pointed out is here shown by describing the assembling there of scientists in many branches who carried on their work in the years after the original experiment had failed.

With maturer years and a lessening of his impetuosity Owen realized that it was "easier to detect than to correct errors and to distinguish deficiencies than to supply them." Educational and legislative reform became his tools, and his achievements put Indiana in the first rank in free public education and in the granting of property rights to married women. Later he shifted to the national scene and became actively engaged in the questions of the Oregon boundary and Texas annexation disputes, the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution, and slavery. The spheres of his activities are indicated by the titles of the chapters in the book—thus, "The Journalist," "The Law-maker," "The Diplomat," "The Pamphleteer," "The Mystic."

By carefully integrating the man with his times and his contemporaries the authors have escaped the sense of isolation of the subject too commonly found in biographies. Especially commendable is the sympathetic understanding with which Owen's interest in spiritualism is discussed, and the refutation of prevalent reports of his final permanent mental disintegration. The volume is well documented and has a chronological list of Owen's publications. Perhaps its lack of index is excused by its brevity.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MARGARET CREECH

Unemployment Insurance and Agricultural Labor in Great Britain. By WILBUR J. COHEN. Washington: Social Science Research Council, 1940. Pp. viii + 32. \$0.50.

Methods of Clearance between Unemployment Compensation and Relief Agencies. By ARTHUR T. JACOBS. Washington: Social Science Research Council, 1940. Pp. viii + 52. \$0.50.

The British law including agricultural workers under unemployment insurance became effective in 1936. Mr. Cohen's pamphlet sets forth the essential provisions of the law and describes its operations through 1938. He points out the special problems encountered in the administration of unemployment insurance for agricultural workers and attempts to show how these and other problems would arise in establishing a similar system in this country. However, Great Britain by postponing unemployment insurance for agricultural workers so long was forced to adopt a separate scheme for agriculture, because no satisfactory adjustment within the older scheme seemed practicable. The United States might avoid some practical difficulties by giving agricultural workers early consideration.

Because of the importance of the interrelationships of relief and unemployment benefits the Committee on Social Security engaged Mr. Jacobs to make a survey of current practices in a number of states during 1939. Mr. Jacobs visited eighteen states to inquire into the methods of clearance between unemployment compensation and relief agencies. The clearance problem arises in connection with workers who are unemployed and exhaust their resources during the waiting period, who may have been employed in insured industries but have not had sufficient employment to qualify them for benefits, who are receiving benefits that are too low to maintain the family, who are members of families with more than one worker, or who exhaust their rights to benefits and remain unemployed. Early in 1938 the W.P.A. ruled that all persons eligible for

unemployment compensation benefits were by that fact rendered ineligible for employment on W.P.A. projects, and this rule was not adjusted to take care of persons whose benefits were too low to provide for the family. This rule created a clearance problem for the certifying agencies. Mr. Jacobs classifies clearance procedures under three headings: reliance upon the information supplied by the applicant, transmittal of some official record of unemployment compensation benefits to the relief organization by the unemployment compensation agency, and provision of information by the unemployment compensation agency to the local relief agency when requested to do so regarding a particular applicant. There is little uniformity in detailed procedure among the states, and no type of clearance has proved entirely satisfactory. Some suggestions are made in the pamphlet for improving the clearance machinery under existing laws.

R. C. W.

Harry Bridges on Trial. By ESTOLV E. WARD. New York: Modern Age Books, Inc., 1940. Pp. iii+240. \$0.50.

As in the historic Sacco and Vanzetti case, the controversy about Harry Bridges arouses strong feelings of apprehension among certain groups while, at the same time, there are others who express warm appreciation for his influence on the improvement of labor conditions and employment policies for workers who have been in the past cruelly oppressed and exploited. The dispassionate and objective statement¹ of Dean Landis of the Harvard Law School may well be considered with this publication of the series of "Modern Age Books" in any attempt to answer the question "How did union labor win its biggest case?" The present volume does not pretend to be objective or unbiased. It claims, however, not to be an argument but a presentation of "the facts of the Bridges case as developed both inside and outside the official record." It can, therefore, be "more completely informative from the defense standpoint because it was only the defense which made available freely and fully its records and the background of its case."

It is probably true, as is alleged in the Foreword, that there are few individuals on the Pacific Coast or for that matter anywhere between the Pacific and Atlantic who could honestly say that they have "no bias for or against Harry Bridges." The list of some of the chapters will indicate the nature of this statement: "Bridges Speaks for Himself," "The Barricades of Today," "The Black Network," "The Prisoners' Temptation," "Doyle Grows Warmer," "Larry Doyle in Person."

S. P. B.

The Refugee Problem. By SIR JOHN HOPE SIMPSON. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. xv+637. \$10.

This comprehensive report, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is the final outcome of a survey of refugee problems which was begun in September, 1937. An earlier number² of this *Review* contained a review of a preliminary report by Sir John Simpson and his collaborators which was published in

¹ See this *Review*, June, 1940, p. 417.

² XIII (March, 1939), 132.

1938 for the use of those who participated in the famous Intergovernmental Refugee Conference at Evian in the summer of 1938 and at the League of Nations Assembly in September, 1938, and the great value of the inquiry was then indicated. In carrying out the investigation the Royal Institute was assisted by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Leverhulme Trust, and the Stewart Trust. The original plan was to provide a compact statement of the origins of post-war refugee movements and of their situation at that period for the use of those concerned with the future action of the League of Nations. This final report contains not only an exhaustive study of the origins and course of refugee movements but also a record of the methods adopted in dealing with the problem, both internationally and by individual governments, and of the splendid efforts made by the great philanthropic organizations, whose resources have been strained to the utmost by recent events.

E. A.

You and the Refugee. By NORMAN ANGELL and DOROTHY FRANCES BUXTON.
London: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1939. Pp. 279. 6d.

This small book in the useful Penguin series deals with the questions of unemployment, immigration, and depopulation that were raised by the refugee situation before the war had gravely increased the seriousness of this problem. The two authors, Sir Norman Angell, author of *The Great Illusion*, and Mrs. Charles Roden Buxton, who belongs to an English Quaker family long prominent in philanthropy and in politics, have both been distinguished by their concern for the morals and economics of the difficult problems created by the recurring "evacuations."

This book tells in moving passages of the plight of the victims of the earlier Hitlerite terror. The British people, we are told, have some responsibility for this great tragedy, and their refugee policy was not so generous as that of France before the French armistice. When this volume was prepared the authors believed that it would be to England's advantage to offer sanctuary on a more generous scale. The population both of Great Britain and the Dominions is, in the opinion of the authors, due for serious decline which will produce grave economic difficulties that might be relieved by means of a fairly large influx of refugees. Immigration does not necessarily create more unemployment and may relieve it; the refugee often gives employment and proves an asset. The authors were convinced that these little-known facts proved that English responsibility might also be England's opportunity.

E. A.

Local Government: Its Development and Scope. By J. A. C. ROBERTS. London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 1939. Pp. xv+138. 2s. 6d.

The term "welfare" as used currently by American social workers is peculiar to this country. This is well illustrated in this recent English book on local government. Part II of this volume deals with the principal services and duties performed by the local authorities. These services are divided into three main groups: (1) welfare, (2) protection, and (3) amenities. "Welfare" as used in England includes education, care of the sick (hospitals, nursing homes, etc.), water supply, sewerage and refuse, housing and

town planning, and public assistance. "Protection" includes police, fire brigades, food and drugs, weights and measures, and air-raid precautions. "Amenities" includes electricity and gas, highways and streets, parks, playing fields, etc., libraries and museums.

In England "public assistance" does not include old age pensions or any of the social insurances. Public assistance in England includes only "poor relief" and unemployment assistance.

This is a useful little book.

Tax Yields: 1939. By TAX POLICY LEAGUE. New York, 1940. Pp. 126.

This volume gives the amount of tax yields—federal, state, and local—for 1939, classified by kinds of taxes and by states. Summary tables and charts with historical comparisons give an excellent view of the importance of the different tax revenues today and an indication of recent trends. The detailed figures are particularly useful for reference for those concerned with specific state tax systems. The prompt publication of these figures makes them of particular value. The work has been carefully done, and such limitations as the data have are pointed out in the text.

VASSAR COLLEGE

MABEL NEWCOMER

International Economics. By P. T. ELLSWORTH. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. 530. \$4.00.

This is a very able and judicious discussion of the principles, policies, and practices of modern nations in the field of international trade, exchange, and economic relations generally. Professor Ellsworth lays no claim to originality but he does not limit himself to the mere presentation of conflicting theories. He is eminently fair in setting forth such theories, past or present, and the thoughtful student (the book is not for beginners or for shallow students who cannot or will not devote time and attention to difficult problems) will not complain of any unfairness, bias, or objectionable indoctrination. We are never in doubt, however, about the author's own conclusion or position.

Such questions as autarchy, economic nationalism, the future of the gold standard, the experiences under managed currencies, the newer forms of trade restriction, the tendency to minimize the importance of foreign trade ("the open-door at home"), and other economic notions now entertained even in liberal circles are canvassed dispassionately and realistically.

Professor Ellsworth is not a doctrinaire free trader but he approves the Hull trade agreements and exposes the hollowness of the criticisms leveled by politicians against the policy underlying these agreements.

In these days of intellectual confusion and quackery masquerading as statesmanship and philosophy, a scholarly and sound work on international economic relations is particularly welcome.

CHICAGO

VICTOR S. YARROS

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

The Meaning of State Supervision in the Social Protection of Children. By KATHRYN WELCH. (U.S. Children's Bureau Pub. No. 252.) U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. 22. \$0.05.

This brief pamphlet was written in response to numerous requests that the Children's Bureau has been receiving during the past few years from states where supervisory services to child-caring institutions and agencies have been in the process of development and expansion. Recognizing that there was no full-blown scheme to meet the needs of all states, the author has confined herself to setting forth those "philosophies, policies and general procedures which are basic to an effective program of supervision in any State."

It is stated at the outset that "the foundation for the successful development of State supervision is an understanding relationship between the State Welfare Department and the child welfare agencies," and the author has some very practical suggestions for the achievement and maintenance of this desirable state of affairs. It is clear that Miss Welch regards the "light touch" as a more profitable approach to the problems of supervision than reliance on statutory authority—a point of view with which all those who have had experience in supervision would agree.

The discussion of licensing, both of institutions and agencies and of foster-homes, is particularly valuable, as is the section on "Cooperative Relationships," i.e., the use of other public departments such as health, fire, etc., in promoting better standards of work.

There is just one addition which might have made this an even more useful pamphlet, and that is the inclusion of a selected bibliography of books and periodical material for the reader looking for more detailed treatment of some of the problems discussed.

JAMES BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Youth in Agricultural Villages. By BRUCE L. MELVIN and ELNA N. SMITH. (W.P.A. Research Monograph XXI.) Washington, D.C., 1940. Pp. 143.

This is the fourteenth report in this series of research monographs which has dealt with some aspect of the rural situation and is the third dealing with rural youth. Its special value lies in the fact that it relates to youth in the nonfarm population—a group which heretofore has received little attention.

The study is based on a survey of youth in forty-five selected agricultural villages which were considered representative of the Middle Atlantic, Southeast, Southwest, East North Central, Western, and Pacific regions of the United States. The interview method was used, and most of the data were taken to cover the year June 1, 1935—June 1, 1936, so for the most part a seasonal bias was avoided. The material concerning 10,238 youth sixteen to twenty-nine years of age who were living in the villages at the time of the survey constitutes the principal part of the report. This group is discussed under the general subjects of mobility, personal characteristics, school attendance and educational attainment, employment, occupations, financial status, and social and recreational activities. One chapter is devoted to an analysis of limited data obtained for 3,400 youth who were economically independent and living away from the villages.

The authors point out that the results of the study probably present "village life at its best," inasmuch as it excludes rural industrial villages and as the agricultural villages selected with few exceptions represent average or better than average territory. There is no representation from the Southern Appalachian Highlands, only one from the Lake States cutover region, and one from the dry-land area of the West. Likewise the Black Belt of the South is not well represented.

In contrast to the serious increase of the number of youth on farms between 1930 and 1936 it is significant that there was a net loss of youth in agricultural villages. The findings concerning education, employment, and social and recreational opportunities are those which will hold the most interest for the rural social worker. Although youth in these villages were found to attend school to a greater extent than in rural areas as a whole, almost three-fifths of those out of school had left before they were eighteen years of age, and almost half of them had left before completing high school. Although the high-school enrolment had shown an increase, the types of vocational training offered were extremely limited, and almost none of the out-of-school youth were in attendance at emergency adult education classes even in the thirteen villages where such programs were in operation. The young persons interviewed were found to be suffering more from underemployment than from unemployment, but there were relatively few fields of employment open to them. The three major federal agencies concerned with the employment of youth, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, and the Works Progress Administration were employing only 3 per cent of all young men and women on June 1, 1936 (exclusive of National Youth Administration student aid, for which no figures were given). This number included five times as many boys as girls, probably not because of lack of need but because of the limitation of opportunity for women to participate in these programs.

A wide variation in the availability of social and recreational opportunities was found between villages. The churches and schools were the leading institu-

tions in this field, but the majority of young persons were not attending any programs of organized institutions. Out-of-school youth participated much less than those in school. Recommendations included the suggestion that teachers of art, music, and physical education might be employed as community leaders rather than just for the school and that the schools should offer more adult education particularly designed to aid out-of-school youth in a cultural, social, and recreational way.

The format of this report is much the same as others which have preceded it in the series. It is illustrated by nine full-page Farm Security and Works Progress Administration photographs not particularly correlated with the text and is accompanied by supplementary appendixes.

The fundamental weakness of the report seems to be the lack of a forceful summing-up of outstanding needs with constructive recommendations for meeting them. It is almost entirely lacking in any criticism or evaluation of the work of existing agencies now dealing with youth or recommendations as to where future responsibility should lie, with the exception of the school. Nevertheless, these data will be helpful in rounding out the picture of the needs of youth in rural areas.

GRACE A. BROWNING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Public Welfare Law (Annotated), State of New York. Revised as of May 15, 1940. By DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE, DAVID C. ADIE, COMMISSIONER. Albany: New York State Department of Social Welfare, 1940. Pp. v+45. \$0.25.

This annotated version of the New York Public Welfare Law will be very helpful to those concerned with its administration, and Commissioner Adie is to be congratulated on its publication. Every section is followed by reference to such opinions of the attorney-general and such judicial decisions and such references to other statutes as will promptly and effectively inform the administrator with reference to the questions that have already been raised and the interpretation that has been put upon them. It is especially helpful to have the opinions of the attorney-general cited. The example set by the department in issuing this statute in this form could well be followed by other welfare departments. For students of public welfare legislation who are not concerned directly with the administration of the statute, it is likewise of great interest, and they too are under obligation to the Commissioner for making possible this view of the problem as it is presented to the authorities in New York.

Annual Report of the Alabama State Department of Public Welfare, for the Fiscal Year October 1, 1938, through September 30, 1939. Montgomery, 1940. Pp. 145.

The fourth *Annual Report* of the Alabama State Department of Public Welfare is particularly interesting because of the emphasis placed on the "intimate concern and responsibility" of the local government for the actual administration of a broad program of public welfare. This has been a traditional pattern in Alabama and to a considerable extent accounts for the sound development during the first four years of operation. The chapter "Public Welfare in Operation" contains excerpts from the annual reports of county departments to the county boards and to the State Department, which indicate the scope and nature of public welfare activities in the county offices and present a vital, colorful account of what goes on "out in the communities where people live."

Public confidence in the activities of the State Department is revealed in constructive legislative action, increased financial participation by the local and state governments, and the maintenance of sound personnel standards. Legislative enactments during 1939 brought the public assistance program into line with changes in the federal Social Security Act, facilitated co-operation between the State Department of Public Welfare and other state agencies, and created a state merit system. As the personnel of the state and county welfare departments have customarily been required to meet standards of educational and professional training, there should be little difficulty in conforming with the standards set up by the recently established State Personnel Board.

Complete financial statements and fifty-six statistical tables give an excellent review of all phases of the public welfare program. The data in these tables are elaborated and interpreted in the narrative chapters. It is pointed out that although there has been little change in the average assistance grants, which amounted to \$9.53 per family, the number of cases receiving all types of assistance has increased. Attention is called to the inadequacy of these grants and to the fact that in July, 1939, only five states paid average old age assistance grants which were lower than Alabama's, only one state had a lower aid-to-dependent-children grant, and there were only two states whose average aid-to-the-blind grants were lower. In addition to the groups for which federal funds are available, state and local appropriations provided average grants of \$8.64 for a monthly average of 1,969 "Aid to the Handicapped" cases, and "Temporary Aid" averaging \$10.99 for an average of 496 cases per month (pp. 108 and 116). "Amounts expended necessarily vary from county to county, and from city to city according to local need, to recognition of this need (by the local units), and to the local monies available."

A significant aspect of public welfare development in Alabama is the co-operative relationships which have been effected among the various public and private administrative agencies and institutions in the local, state, and federal areas and the jurisdictional interrelationships as between and among the state

and local departments of public welfare and the local judicial bodies. The evaluation of the objectives of the public welfare program in relation to the functions and purposes of these other agencies, the internal organization, and the distribution of responsibilities in order that the Department of Public Welfare may "function as an integral part of a general system" inevitably gives rise to serious administrative problems and controversies. That careful analysis and skilful approaches have been applied to these questions is evident from the results. This active experience would have more value, not only for Alabama but for other states interested in the same problems, if the *Report* included more material on the administrative problems and devices utilized in connection with the interpretation and execution of this broad co-operative program.

This *Report* maintains the standard of excellency characteristic of earlier reports of this state agency whose activities have been continuously expanded to conserve human resources.

M. BRANSCOMBE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Third Annual Report of the Oklahoma Department of Public Welfare, 1938-39. Oklahoma City, 1939. Pp. 90.

This *Report* is particularly interesting because it reflects some of the improvements that have been made since the reorganization of the Department of Public Welfare following the withdrawal in March, 1938, of federal grants to the state for public assistance. These improvements have been especially marked since the resignation of the first public welfare commission (the state policy-making board) early in 1939 and the appointment of a new board.

In contrast with previous reports of the department this is not only more adequate, but the material selected for inclusion is more pertinent and better presented and therefore more helpful to the student of public welfare.

The narrative report is divided into eight parts as follows: "Introduction" (giving the historical background and present structure of the welfare department), "Developments during the Year," "Planning for the Future," "Receipts and Expenditures," "Security for the Aged," "Security for Children," "Security for the Blind," and "Civilian Conservation Corps." The remainder of the *Report* is taken up with appendixes of statistical tables. This complex arrangement makes for some confusion to the reader as some discussion of each service appears under three different sections.

The department has legal responsibility for the administration of federal and state funds for old age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, and child welfare services; and it has a small fund for the care of crippled children which cannot be matched by federal funds inasmuch as the Crippled Children's Commission is the official state agency for that program.

614 GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

The state spent a total of \$17,628,879.96 during the year. Approximately \$13,500,000 of this was earmarked and spent for old age assistance with slightly less than \$2,500,000 for aid to dependent children, \$382,625 for aid to the blind, \$133,824.51 for child welfare services, and \$49,000 for the care of crippled children.

Among the significant developments during the year which are mentioned in the *Report* are the reinstatement of federal funds in full in April, 1939; legislative changes by which the county commissioners no longer constitute the local boards, but, instead, the state commission may appoint lay boards of three members; the raising of the limitation on administrative expenditures from 5 to 7½ per cent of the total assistance fund; and the removal of the citizenship requirement for assistance. Other changes, chiefly administrative, include an improvement of the machinery for fair hearings (although the present procedure is not made entirely clear); improvements in office space for the county units; a reduction in the number of pending applications; the creation of a division of C.C.C. selection within the department; and an extension of child welfare services.

Plans for the future indicate that the department hoped to be able, during the next fiscal year, to give more adequate social service to recipients than had, in the past, been possible, to develop more local welfare boards, to organize more child welfare advisory committees, and to put into operation a merit plan for selection of employees. There was a recognition of the need of an in-service training program, but nothing was said to indicate that definite plans were under way. At present the state apparently is without either a director of training or provision for educational leaves with part pay, although both of these plans had been in operation in 1937-38.

While the reader gains a fairly good picture of the actual services and operations of the State Department of Public Welfare from this *Report*, it is far from giving a comprehensive view of the entire organization for public welfare in the state. There is no mention, for example, of the fact that the ex officio State Welfare Board created in 1933 has been continued to the present time as a separate state agency, and that that board administers a most inadequate general relief program from state and local funds. There is no mention that Oklahoma still has an elected commissioner of charities and corrections with certain investigatory powers and with the legal responsibility for inspecting state institutions and inspecting and licensing agencies in the field of child care; nor is there mention of the Soldiers Relief Commission or of the State Board of Affairs, which operates the state institutions and places children from them without regard to the Division of Child Welfare in the state department. Mention is made of the State Commission for the Blind, but nothing is said anywhere in the *Report* concerning the need of state legislation to consolidate these welfare activities.

Oklahoma has a higher ratio of recipients of old age assistance per one thou-

sand estimated aged in the population than any other state and ranks fourth in its ratio of dependent children receiving aid. The numbers continue to increase since the reinstatement of federal funds. It is therefore unfortunate that no attempt is made in the *Report* to explain this situation, particularly since there are many reasons which have nothing to do with the quality of the present administration. For example, it seems significant in this connection that Oklahoma is the twenty-first state in population and the forty-first state in per capita wealth, that it is thought by some economists to be overpopulated, that it is confronted with serious economic problems ranging from extensive holding of land by large corporations in eastern Oklahoma to the problems of the dust bowl in the panhandle coupled with a very high rate of farm tenancy. Other factors bearing on the problem are the fact that the Social Security Board approved a plan for old age assistance and aid to dependent children in April, 1936, five months before the present department was organized, that such a program was administered under the old board of public welfare during that time and from it was transferred a load of more than fifty thousand recipients to the new department. Erroneous payments to these recipients constituted a considerable amount of the money which later had to be refunded to the Social Security Board by the department of welfare. The absence of property requirements or liens in the state assistance law and the absence of relative responsibility and other deterrent features have laid the foundation for a liberal assistance program further liberalized by each session of the legislature. At the same time the lack of local financial participation and the absence of an adequate well-administered general relief program have resulted in local pressures to obtain categorical assistance for persons in need who in other states would be given general relief.

Inevitable by-products of such a situation are low assistance grants and a high case load for each worker. Only Arkansas had a lower average grant for aid to dependent children than \$12.02, Oklahoma's average. The average for old age assistance was \$17.72, as of June, 1939, and that for aid to the blind was \$14.50. Even after the percentage which can be used for administration was increased to 7½ per cent of the state fund, the public assistance visitors were still carrying case loads of approximately three hundred each and still paying their travel costs out of their own salaries.

It is interesting, on the other hand, to note that approximately 62.9 per cent of the state and federal child welfare fund was spent for salaries, travel, and administration. An expenditure of \$61,591.83 for salaries and \$21,926.49 for travel for services to 1,957 children raises many questions concerning the most economical plan for administering such services in a large rural state. Unfortunately, there seems to have been no accounting in the *Report* concerning local expenditures for these services.

Other questions which remain unanswered by the *Report* are the reasons for creating a separate division of C.C.C. selection instead of making it a function of the public assistance division as it is in most states, how many local lay boards

616 GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

have been appointed under the permissive power of the state board, what will be the relationship between these boards and the lay advisory committees being organized by the child welfare division in the same counties, and the reasons for the continued earmarking of funds of this department for the care of crippled children since they cannot be matched by federal funds.

Notwithstanding a few unanswered questions, this *Report* on the whole is good. It is indicative of vision and direction, of a feeling for the needs of the people, and an awareness of weaknesses in present welfare provisions. After the stormy years of 1936-38 it gives promises that a stable categorical assistance program at least may evolve, even though little progress has been made toward adequate general relief or toward co-ordinating the multiplicity of state agencies operating in the field of public welfare.

GRACE A. BROWNING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Annual Message, Clayton F. Smith, President of Board of Cook County Commissioners of Cook County for the Year 1939. Pp. 255.

In this *Message* the president of the County Board reports on all the welfare activities of Cook County (as well as concerning the business interests), including those of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare (including the Advisory Board, the Family Service Division, and the County Administration of Old Age Assistance, for the County Bureau, under the statute, is the Cook County agent of the State Department of Public Welfare for Old Age Assistance.) The report gives likewise the statistical data as to the number and the reasons for applications in one month—August, 1939—the reasons for cancellations in the same month, and the reasons for rejecting applications.

Among the interesting developments in Cook County has been the division of responsibility for medical care between the Relief Administration and the County Bureau. Under this agreement the county physicians serve sick persons not on relief while the Chicago Relief Association and townships accept responsibility for the sick on relief.

The County Bureau administers the blind pension, which is not "assistance," under the Security Act, and various amendments are suggested under the present act. The county advances the grant (\$30 a month) and recovers one-half from the state auditor. There is an interesting presentation of difficulties arising from an extraordinary ruling of the State Department of Public Welfare supported by a strange opinion of the attorney-general to the effect that an aged person who is eligible in all other respects for old age assistance but who is likewise blind must rely on the blind assistance, although the scarcity of funds for the blind means that he only gets a place in a "blind" waiting list. It is

strange that the state authorities should take this restrictive view of the aged person's rights and equally strange that the federal authorities acquiesce.

Besides the usual statements about the Oak Forest Infirmary, the County Hospital, and the Civil Service Division, there is an interesting report from the Behavior Clinic.

Data from the juvenile court and from the public defender are likewise included here. The judge of the juvenile court gives an interesting account of a resumption of responsibility by the court in truancy cases and does not distinguish between the cases arising in Chicago as contrasted with those arising in Cook County outside of Chicago. This seems to transfer the parental school to the resources of the court rather than treating it as an exclusively school agency for discipline. The court is not happy about either its facilities for institutional care of dependent children or the necessity of depending on private societies for the placement of children in boarding-homes.

The county expended \$9,085,338 for welfare purposes, of which \$4,300,000 went to the hospital, \$1,450,000 for the infirmary, \$400,000 for the blind, \$940,000 for mothers' pensions, and \$391,000 for probation officers.

S. P. B.

Workers' Health Hazards, Today and Tomorrow: Detection and Control of Silicosis and Other Occupational Diseases. By the NEW YORK STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSIONER. New York: Division of Industrial Hygiene, 1940. Pp. 21+x.

In 1936 the New York State Legislature appropriated \$50,000 a year for five years to the State Labor Department to make studies of means and methods of eliminating hazards to life and health from dust and other occupational diseases and to disseminate information on the subject of control and prevention of occupational diseases. This report is a progress report submitted to the state legislature by the industrial commissioner of the Labor Department covering three and a half years' work under the appropriation.

The funds were allocated to the Division of Industrial Hygiene in the Labor Department, which developed procedures along complementary lines of the problem. By means of an industrial hygiene medical staff, x-ray, and laboratory equipment, 37,850 medical examinations were made. By means of developed laboratory equipment and procedures 17,229 chemical analyses and determinations of samples of air, rock, blood, lung tissue, and other substances were made.

With knowledge gained as to the industries in which the hazards existed by virtue of medically diagnosed cases of industrial diseases and the actual location of causative factors with laboratory analysis methods, it was possible by use of an engineering staff to develop elimination and control systems. During

618 GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

the three-and-a-half-year period 4,808 industrial ventilation systems were examined and specifications for control measures made. The study estimates, though the basis is not stated completely, that 300,000 workers have been protected by hazard elimination.

The knowledge gained from this work with occupational-disease hazards has served as a basis for developing four new industrial codes for the enforcement of health standards in dusty trades—one code having already been put into effect. A number of bulletins and general reports on the control of various hazards have been distributed to employers, doctors, technicians, and workers throughout the state, and some educational safety work has been carried on directly with employers and workers.

The study concludes that the three and a half years' experience has given valuable knowledge on how to prevent the development of new cases of silicosis and other dust diseases by dust-control measures. It is realized that developed control measures must be persistently applied and that the nondust occupational diseases have been barely explored by anyone. The obscure causative factors and sinister nature of occupational diseases are made evident. The continued necessity for an appropriation to enable the State Labor Department to continue its disease-hazard-elimination work is predicated not alone on the uncompleted work but as well on the continual change in industrial processes which characterize the industrial order of today. As fast as older hazards are brought under control, new ones appear with possibility of physical injury or death making itself evident at a later date.

Though a different order of organization and presentation might have added to the study, it is an important one by virtue of its presentation of experience in a difficult and neglected field of social insurance. It serves as a basis for additional and valuable information on the problem of occupational-disease control. It points to necessary procedures for attack on the problem of occupational-disease control under state department leadership. Parts of the report are of value to the individual seeking information on the occupational-disease problem.

RICHARD G. GUILFORD

MINNESOTA STATE DEPARTMENT
OF SOCIAL SECURITY

The National Health Program and Medical Care in the United States: A Bibliography. By RUTH FINE and LAURA A. THOMPSON. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor Library, 1940. Pp. 25. Processed.

Social workers will appreciate this very recent bibliography compiled under the direction of Miss Thompson, librarian of the Department of Labor. References to books and articles on such subjects as surveys of medical care in the

United States, the national health survey, 1935-36, general discussion of the need for better medical care, the national health program, the Interdepartmental Committee, the National Health Conference, the 1939 Wagner bill (legislative history of the bill), and the 1940 national hospitals bill are all competently assembled in the useful bibliography.

The Woman Wage Earner: Her Situation Today. By ELISABETH D. BENHAM. (U.S. Women's Bureau Bull. 172.) Washington, D.C., 1939. Pp. 56. \$0.10.

Employed Women and Family Support. By MARY ELIZABETH PIDGEON and MARGARET THOMPSON METTERT. (U.S. Woman's Bureau Bull. 168.) Washington, D.C., 1939. Pp. 57. \$0.10.

Hours and Earnings in Certain Men's-Wear Industries. (U.S. Women's Bureau Bull. 163-6.) Washington, D.C., 1939. Pp. 22. \$0.05.

This series of three reports published by the Women's Bureau deals with various aspects of women's employment. The first bulletin brings together information about women workers that one could find only by searching in the 1930 *Census of Occupations* and the *Census of Manufactures* as well as in the 1935 *Census of Business*. The report was made at the request of the Y.W.C.A. in order "to present in a brief and readable form the main outlines of the occupational status of women wage earners." Occupations in both manufacturing and nonmanufacturing industries, other than professional and semiprofessional, in which women are found are fully discussed as are their earnings, extent of unemployment, and participation in labor organization. Available statistics show that eight out of every ten women wage-earners are engaged in performing service chiefly as household servants or clerical workers, while the other two are employed in factories—largely in textile mills and in food industries. The low level of women's earnings is shown by data from pay-roll reports of twenty-three manufacturing industries in twelve large industrial states. Average weekly earnings range from \$23.63 in women's coat and suit industries to \$12.02 in establishments manufacturing cotton dresses. Although little information is available as to earnings of women engaged in household employment, the study points out that "with the exception of agriculture, there need be little hesitation in putting household employment at the bottom of the list of nonmanufacturing employment on the basis of cash wages." These two types of employment are not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act, nor do they come within the scope of most state minimum-wage laws. Included in the report also is a discussion of budgets drawn up by minimum-wage authorities in seven states and the District of Columbia showing the minimum weekly income needed by an independent

workingwoman to meet necessary living expenses. Results, not surprising to social workers, are that when actual earnings of women workers are compared with living costs it is only in rare instances that they meet the minimum.

The material in the second report is also based on 1930 census material, but relates specifically to 58,000 gainfully employed women in Fort Wayne, Indiana; Bridgeport, Connecticut; and Richmond, Virginia. Some of the more significant findings are: (1) that the women were comparatively young—the median age was not over thirty years in any one of the three cities selected for study; (2) that the largest number were single; and (3) that they were predominantly of native birth and of the white race, although in Richmond two-fifths were Negro. Of special significance is the fact that a surprising number of households were entirely dependent upon the earnings of women members—"in Bridgeport and Fort Wayne about a sixth, and in Richmond something over a fifth." Widows and divorcees were much more likely to be the sole support of the family than were married or single women, but many of the former, especially among the Negroes, were helping support families of considerable size.

The study of hours and earnings in certain men's-wear industries is one of a series of similar investigations made at the request of the Division of Public Contracts of the Department of Labor, which administers the Walsh-Healey Act, under which minimum wages are to be determined for articles manufactured under contract for the United States government. The industries falling within the purview of this particular study are four—caps and cloth hats, neckwear, handkerchiefs, work and knit gloves—covering 228 establishments in ten states leading in the manufacture of these products. A large proportion of women are employed in these industries, ranging all the way from 49 per cent in the cap industry to 96 per cent in establishments manufacturing handkerchiefs, which accounts for the Women's Bureau making the study. Data relating to wages show considerable variation in the different states and a great difference in pay as between the sexes. Especially is this true of the neckwear industry, where the average weekly wage for men was found to be \$36.80 as compared with \$18.60 for the women. Yet it was in this industry that women earned the highest average weekly wage, followed by the cap industry, where the average wage was \$14 a week. Both these industries are unionized, and the study showed that "wage standards were materially higher in the union establishments."

MARY ZAHROBSKY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Judicial Criminal Statistics, 1938. Prepared by R. H. BEATTIE under the Supervision of HALBERT L. DUNN, M.D., Chief Statistician for Vital Statistics. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Pp. 52.

The attempt to secure criminal judicial statistics in America on a national basis has made some progress during the seven years since this census project was initiated.

In 1937 only twenty-seven states, including the District of Columbia, co-operated with the Bureau of the Census in furnishing reports of defendants in criminal cases disposed of by courts of general jurisdiction. The report says:

This is the seventh year that the judicial criminal statistics collection has been made by the Bureau of the Census. The first collection in 1932 included reports from 16 States, 24 States furnished information for 1933, 27 for 1934, 30 for 1935 and 1936, and 29 for 1937. During the last year (1938) two States, Arizona and Nebraska, were dropped from the annual collection because of the difficulties in obtaining a State official to act as State supervisor for the Bureau of the Census.

The Census Bureau is, however, making progress, and it is necessary to remember that this is a difficult field in a nation with so many independent judicial jurisdictions.

E. A.

Thirty-first and Thirty-second Annual Reports of the Municipal Court of Chicago for the Years January 1, 1937, to December 31, 1938, Inclusive. HON. JOHN J. SONSTEBY, Chief Justice. Pp. 39.

One of the great "reforms" in the history of Chicago was the establishment of the Municipal Court. This reform required an amendment to the Illinois Constitution (Art. IV, sec. 34) and replaced fifty-six or fifty-eight justices of the peace or police magistrates within the city limits whose activities and jurisdiction made Chicago litigation confused and difficult, and, except so far as the legislature had been recalcitrant, expressed the best intelligence of the ablest members of the bar in its structure and organization. The Court possessed the facilities and authority for effective administration—a fact which was and still is true of relatively few courts and which made the early reports documents not only of great significance but of compelling interest as well. One chief justice exercised the leading influence from the beginning until the Democratic landslide in 1930. However, long before this date the quality of the reports as well as the regularity of their appearance had changed. Of late it has been the practice to publish only every two or even every three years. The last issue is for the years 1937 and 1938. This small volume of thirty-nine pages, besides three full-page

likenesses of the chief justice, the clerk, and the bailiff and one double page containing likenesses of the entire court—thirty-five judges—purports to give a statistical view of the work of the Court for two years. Social workers will be interested in the figures for the Social Service Department, in the reports of the specialized courts, and in the report of the Psychiatric Laboratory.

The Social Service Department reports 3,047 new cases accepted for service in 1937; 3,006 in 1938, of these 1,934 and 1,893, respectively, were for nonsupport, 337 and 512 under the Bastardy Act, 192 and 76 for contributing to the dependency of children, 210 and 73 for contributing to delinquency, 374 and 21 for disorderly conduct. In 1938, 431 were reopened for nonsupport. The figures given are not very clear to the uninitiated reader and, therefore, will not be presented at greater length here. However, it appears that the department collected in nonsupport and bastardy cases in the two years \$90,605.46 and \$110,173.28, respectively. These collections were in the court in the city. In the South Chicago District there were 1,499 and 1,424 new cases, and the amounts collected were \$4,933.25 and \$6,711.25, respectively.

A page of statistics without comment is devoted to each of the specialized courts—the Boys' Court, the Court of Domestic Relations, and the Woman's Court—and four pages are devoted to figures supplied by the Psychiatric Laboratory. The interested student of crime and its treatment will regret that the figures which are supplied by workers well qualified to interpret them in a constructive way present only meager statistics. Only by such interpretation is the expenditure of the taxpayers' money for their collection and publication justified.

S. P. B.

Actuarial Technique and Financial Organisation of Social Insurance: Compulsory Pension Insurance. By LUCIEN FÉRAUD. ("Studies and Reports," Ser. M, No. 17.) Geneva: International Labour Office, 1940. Pp. vi+568. \$5.00; paper, \$4.00.

The title indicates that this is a technical book, though the author, an internationally known expert in the field of social insurance, attempted to present the material as clearly as possible for a broad public. Certain sections of the study deal with the customary, but not uniform, mathematical symbols of the different insurance schemes, which will be studied only by actuaries and practitioners of the administration.

All actuarial investigations in the field of social insurance require a special technique based upon probabilities and drawing conclusions from demographic statistics and financial data. The knowledge of this technique is indispensable in the operation of current social insurance programs as well as in the reform of

existing, and in the inauguration of new, plans. This study is devoted to an analysis of the special technique governing six compulsory programs of old age and survivors, invalidity, and life insurance. It discloses the mechanism of pension insurance plans in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy. In examining the experiences of these six separate systems, Féraud follows a consistent schedule, analyzing the demographic elements, the financial factors, equilibrium and stability, and the main structure of administration and operation of each of the systems. The demographic investigation includes biometric data, relating to mortality, invalidity, morbidity, and composition of the families concerned, and the total figures of the insured population and the number of beneficiaries.

The problem of contributions, benefits, and accumulated reserve funds and their significance for the working of the program are discussed. The importance of such an experience for the administration of the new social insurance programs in this country was recently emphasized in an article by Reinhard A. Hohaus (*Journal of the American Statistical Association*, March, 1940).

The book thus presents a comprehensive survey, facilitating comparison of the organization, the financial structure, and the different actuarial techniques employed in the six European pension insurance programs. The English translation of the study, by W. E. Lorraine, will make this a very valuable contribution for actuaries, employees, and social workers engaged in the field of social insurance in the United States. Each national section includes a bibliography on legislative texts, administrative publications, and articles.

WALTER FRIEDLANDER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Deportation of Aliens: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the U.S. Committee on Immigration on S. 407, March, 1939. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939. Pp. 211. \$0.20.

This subcommittee had under consideration five bills, four of which were restrictionist, providing for further exclusionist and expulsion regulations, and one, which has since been passed, providing for the registration of aliens. Testimony of public officials, social workers, patriotic societies, and representatives of a few labor organizations reviewed once more many of the questions relating to the admission of aliens and their status while here. Arguments against one and all of these bills have been presented before many times in this *Review*, and limitations of space prevent a review of this material now.

Extend Non-quota Status to Husbands of Ministers and Professors: Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, Seventy-sixth Congress, Third Session, on H.R. 8753, March 6 and 7, 1940. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. iii+28.

One of the anomalies of the present Immigration Law is a provision extending nonquota status to the wives of ministers and professors; but, although members of this professional group may bring in their wives, women members of the same group do not have an equal privilege of bringing in their husbands. The recently proposed amendment would correct this inequality by giving non-quota status to the husbands of women "ministers" and women "professors." The *Hearings* on this proposal last spring were interesting. The witnesses who testified to the desirability of enacting this amendment were representatives of the women's national organizations: the American Association of University Women, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the National League of Women Voters, the National Woman's Party, the Council of Women for Home Missions. The State Department and the Department of Labor were likewise represented by members of the staff concerned with the administration of the Immigration Law.

The history of the origin of the proposed amendment is interesting. A woman professor in a woman's college was greatly disturbed by the plight of her husband, who was in Europe—a fugitive from a Nazi-occupied country. All the places on the quota from his country of origin have been taken for a period of years extending far beyond the probable term of his life. His American-born wife, as a professor, wished to give him nonquota status. However, this could be done only by amending the Immigration Law. There was objection raised by one or two persons who cannot be reconciled to the admission of any alien and who insisted that this opening would make possible the admission of a great number of persons who brought themselves within the definitions of these terms. The proposed amendment has been rejected, and this further step in securing equal rights remains to be accomplished by the women's groups.

S. P. B.

CONTRIBUTORS

EDWIN E. WITTE, professor of economics, University of Wisconsin, was executive director of the President's Committee on Economic Security which formulated the Social Security Act and organized the supporting factual material.

HARRISON CLARK is instructor in economics at the University of Missouri and held a traveling fellowship to Sweden.

MARSHALL E. DIMOCK, recently assistant secretary of the United States Department of Labor, has moved with the Division of Immigration and Naturalization to the United States Department of Justice. He is associate professor of public administration, on leave of absence, from the University of Chicago.

DAVID R. HUNTER is with the American Public Welfare Association.

GERTRUDE STURGES, M.D., is consultant on medical care, American Public Welfare Association.

MARY BOSWORTH TREUDLEY is associate professor of economics at Wellesley College.

CHARLOTTE TOWLE is associate professor of psychiatric social work in the School of Social Service Administration.

DOROTHY CHAUSSE is a research assistant in the School of Social Service Administration.

C. HERMAN PRITCHETT is assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago.

MARIETTA STEVENSON is assistant director of the American Public Welfare Association and lecturer in public welfare in the School of Social Service Administration.

WILLIAM C. NEWTON is a graduate student in the School of Social Service Administration.

RICHARD EDDY is instructor in child welfare in the School of Social Service Administration and supervisor of the school's field work in probation.

DAVID SLIGHT is professor of psychiatry in the Department of Medicine in the University of Chicago.

LOIS WILDY is assistant professor of child welfare case work in the School of Social Service Administration.

JACOB KEPECS is executive director, Jewish Children's Bureau of Chicago, and lecturer in child welfare in the School of Social Service Administration.

MARY WYSOR KEEFER is medical social consultant in the Crippled Children's Division in the United States Children's Bureau.

JOAN INNES REID, a graduate of the University of Melbourne, Australia, has received her A.M. Degree from the School of Social Service Administration.

MARY HOUK is field-work supervisor, School of Social Service Administration.

STUART K. JAFFARY is director of the School of Social Science of the University of Toronto.

R. CLYDE WHITE is professor in the School of Social Service Administration.

MARGARET CREECH is assistant professor in the School of Social Service Administration.

MABEL NEWCOMER is chairman of the department of economics, Vassar College, and has lectured on taxation and public welfare at the School of Social Service Administration.

VICTOR S. YARROS, of Chicago, is a well-known journalist.

JAMES BROWN is assistant professor, School of Social Service Administration.

GRACE A. BROWNING, assistant professor in the School of Social Service Administration, was formerly assistant director, Oklahoma Department of Public Welfare.

MARTHA BRANSCOMBE is a field-work supervisor in the School of Social Service Administration.

RICHARD G. GUILFORD is a field representative, Minnesota Department of Social Security.

WALTER FRIEDLANDER, lecturer in the School of Social Service Administration on public assistance and social insurance in Europe, was formerly executive director of the Berlin Department of Public Assistance and Child Welfare.

MARY ZAHROBSKY, formerly on the staff of the United States Children's Bureau, is a research assistant in the School of Social Service Administration.

